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ABSTRACT

This book consists of 16 selected papers that focus on the broad topic of new trends in Australian education. All the papers were originally presented at the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Australian College of Education, which was held in May 1976. Titles of the papers include "Perspectives on Recent Changes in Australian Education," "Labor's Achievements in Australian Education 1972-1975," "The Political Economy of Educational Advancement," "Accountability in Australian Education," "Community Involvement in Education," "The School in the Community," "New World in the Morning?" "The Dilemmas of Australian Preschool Education," "An Historical/Empirical Examination of the Effectiveness of Primary Teacher Preparation in Australia," "The Personal Development Programme in N.S.W. Secondary Schools: Rationale and Critique," "The 'Special Child' in Contemporary Australian Education," "Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory," "The Social Education Materials Project: A Review," "Directions in Advanced Education--Indicators and Influences," "A Model for Regional Tertiary Education," and "Policy Orientated Educational Research." (JG)

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INTRODUCTION

The chapters in this book are papers selected from those delivered at the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Australian College of Education held in Melbourne in May 1976. In declaring the Conference open His Excellency the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Winneke, said: "May I compliment you upon the selection of the Conference theme — New Directions in Australian Education — a Critical Review. In the field of human affairs, wise indeed are they who halt from time to time, and submit to critical examination the paths along which they have been directed by the force of new initiatives." Most speakers, however, preferred to describe and explain rather than to examine critically the directions in education with which they were concerned. It was decided, therefore, that although there are critical analyses in some chapters, intending readers would be mislead if the phrase "A Critical Review" remained as part of the title of the book.

Professor G. W. Bassett had the difficult task of reviewing the Conference with its many diverse ideas, themes and activities. He has revised the fine summing-up which he gave and this now appears as the opening chapter to this volume. It does, as its title indicates, give readers perspectives which enable them to understand more clearly the changes in education during the years 1972 to 1975.

The editorial committee had great difficulty in selecting papers, and regretfully could not include many of high quality. It chose those which it considered would be of general interest to most readers and which were relevant to the theme.

PERSPECTIVES ON RECENT CHANGES IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

G. W. Bassett

Australian education may be viewed both from the outside and the inside. The outside perspective is sociological and political; the inside one is professional and educational. The two are not congruent, although obviously they have common elements.

The outside view is general in scope and related to social issues which include education, but also extends beyond it. For example, a social objective such as improving equality of opportunity for members of a community has implications for many facets of social life, not merely for education. The inside view is narrower, bounded by the particular character of the professionalism of the educator. For him equality of opportunity in education is translated into pedagogical terms, and he uses such matters as teaching methods, curriculum, organisation and evaluation to achieve it.

The educator's judgements on new directions in education are made within the context of the educational theories which are his stock-in-trade, and in the light of his experience. These judgements may be well informed on professional criteria, but not necessarily coincide with lay opinion on the same matters; they may be made in terms of ideals that express a particular set of values not widely shared outside the school. The educator's personal involvement may clear or cloud his assessment of administrative or political action according to his interpretation. Because of his insight into educational processes he may see more clearly the implications of a political decision affecting the school; because of his greater anxiety he may over-react, viewing it with much less detachment and breadth of perspective than would a social historian. The assessment that there is a "serious crisis" in education, or that some particular decision has brought an institution or movement to the "crossroads", may be partly an expression of concern arising from the intimacy of the educator's view of changes that affect him.

A great deal of emphasis has been placed in recent educational writing[1] on the necessity for closer relationships between the educational system and the community, and clearly there are cogent arguments in favour of this: the use of the community as a resource for school programmes, the use of school facilities as a resource for the community, the urgent need for effective channels of communication between the school and the community so that educational objectives and innovative practices can be explained and justified, and the obvious right that parents have regarding the education of their children. But the proposition should not be oversimplified. Although the school is a social institution, authorised and sustained by its society, it cannot be expected to respond to every influence that plays upon it in the name of community need. One reason for this, sufficient in itself at a pragmatic level,

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[1]For example *Schools in Australia*, 1973 (Karmel Report) and *Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1976-78*, June 1975.

is that societal influences in a democracy differ widely among themselves, and the school must respond selectively.

But there is a more substantive reason. The education system has a particular responsibility for conserving and transmitting the accumulated knowledge, skills and major values of a culture as effectively as it can to each student. In our tradition these are commonly expressed in rational terms as the basic intellectual disciplines and methods by which the environment can be explored in a systematic way, and in affective terms dealing with the value systems underlying rational, aesthetic and moral behaviour. Some well-known expressions of this traditional educational function are cited below:

(i) Matthew Arnold[2] writes of culture as a *study in perfection*, moving by the force, not merely or primarily of the scientific passion for pure knowledge, but also of the moral and social passion for doing good, by the desire to remove human error, clear human confusion, and diminish human misery.

(ii) Whitehead[3] describes culture as "activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty and humane feeling".

(iii) Peters[4] describes education as a process of initiation into public traditions which are articulated in language and forms of thought. The teacher, having himself been initiated, is on the inside of these activities and modes of thought and conduct. He understands, vividly perhaps, that some created objects are beautiful and others not; he can recognise the elegance of a proof, or a paragraph, the cogency of an argument, the clarity of an exposition, the wit of a remark, the neatness of a plot and the justice and wisdom of a decision. He has perhaps a love of truth, a passion for justice, and a hatred of what is tasteless.

The school does not itself invent this role, nor could it sustain it without support. But it has a special responsibility for it, and hence a degree of autonomy in exercising it, in protecting it, and in seeking to make it more widely prevail. When it is under threat, as occurs in part in all societies, and dangerously so at times in some, its prime objective is to secure its own survival.

The central purpose may be diluted or obscured by societal pressures on the school to adopt new tasks formerly carried out by other agencies, or it may be directly attacked by those who feel threatened by it. There is much in social practice that is irrational, unaesthetic, immoral and exploitive, and in respect to these elements of social conduct education must play the role of critic rather than collaborator.

In practice the distinction between constructive educational activities undertaken for the benefit of students, and exploitive social behaviour

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[2]Arnold, Matthew: *Culture and Anarchy*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960, p. 45.

[3]Whitehead, A. N.: *The Aims of Education*. Williams and Norgate Ltd., 1932, p. 1.

[4]Peters, R.: "Education as Initiation" in R. D. Archambault (ed.), *Philosophical Analysis and Education*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965, p. 107.

undertaken for selfish ends does not come so clearly into focus. There are many overlapping school-society relationships where the academic tradition seems to come close to compromise, or where anti-educational influences come close to acceptance in schools on some interpretation of a criterion of relevance to the needs of children. Indeed some critics[5] of the school view it as an insidious form of socialisation in the service of external exploitive interests, even more dangerous than open indoctrination because of the unwitting "manipulation" involved.

Thus, while there is undoubtedly a serious communication gap between school and society, and an urgent need to close it in various ways, it is likely that there will be elements of irreconcilability while society is less than educative, and educational ideals survive. The comments that follow in describing the outside and the inside perspectives reflect this complex relationship between school and society. Succeeding chapters illustrate various elements of it in more detail, mainly from the educationist's standpoint.

THE OUTSIDE VIEW

Four related themes are identified as having an important bearing on the direction of Australian education:

1. Its utilitarian philosophy
2. Its acceptance of the idea of education on demand
3. Its policy of equal opportunity
4. Its complex administrative pattern.

The Utilitarian Philosophy

The orientation of social and educational thinking towards a utilitarian philosophy in the foundation years of Australian society is suggested by the following selected quotations:

Greenwood[6]

> "In politics Australia is the precocious child of the English 19th Century, Jeremy Bentham was writing before Botany Bay was founded, and his ideas were fast becoming orthodoxy when Australian political life began."

Governor Bourke[7]

> "I may without fear of contradiction assert that in no part of the world is the general education of the People a more sacred and necessary duty of the Government than in New South Wales. The reasons are too obvious to require that I state them."

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[5]For example E. Reimer, "School is Dead", Penguin, 1971.

[6]Greenwood, G. (ed.): *Australia, A Social and Political History*. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1959, p. 99.

[7]In a letter to Stanley, 30/9/1833. Quoted in A. G. Austin, *Select Documents in Australian Education, 1788-1900*. Pitman, 1963, p. 49.

Bleasedale[8]

> "Whatever may be thought in old and populous countries, in colonies and new countries a man is nothing if he is not practical."

Board[9]

> "The school aims at giving its pupils the equipment by which they may qualify themselves to meet the demands of adult life with respect to themselves, the family, society, and the State. It thus has a utilitarian purpose to serve."

Contemporary commentators repeat the theme of practicality and anti-intellectualism in Australian culture:

Semmler[10]

> "Anti-intellectualism (in Australia) is part of the devotion to practicality and direct experience which has had to go hand-in-hand with the development of a huge island continent by relatively a handful of people. The increase of knowledge has found its most favourable expression in the 'useful' channels of trade, finance, law, and especially latterly, technology."

McGregor[11]

> "The salient fact about intellectuals in Australia is the lack of influence they have upon society. In terms of influencing the shape of the community within which they find themselves it may well be more of an advantage not to be an intellectual than to be one, simply because of the stigma which is attached to anything so blatantly non-utilitarian as serious intellectual endeavour."

Harris[12]

> "The Australian on the whole is neither cultured by education nor intellectual by inclination, and he deals humanistically with anything which comes within reach of his direct experience. There is little effort at abstract intellectual understanding, or tolerance, of that which is unfamiliar."

There have of course been other influences in our culture, for example religion and the arts, and these have had an impact on our schools. But their influence has been subordinate. The concept of a school curriculum as consisting of a core of essential studies plus some "frills" is never very far from the surface of public expression. In times of stress the frills are the first to go.

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[8]Bleasedale, J. J.: *Practical Education*. Melbourne, 1870. Quoted in A. G. Austin, op. cit., p. 198.

[9]Board, Peter, Director of Education in N.S.W., 1905. Quoted in A. R. Crane and W. G. Walker, *Peter Board*. A.C.E.R., 1957, p. 39.

[10]Semmler, C.: "Cultural Trends in Australia" in G. W. Bassett, *Planning in Australian Education*. A.C.E.R., 1970.

[11]McGregor, Craig: *Profile of Australia*. Hodder and Stoughton, 1966.

[12]Harris, Max: "Morals and Manners" in Peter Coleman (ed.), *Australian Civilization*. Cheshire, 1962, p. 55.

To a scholar the adjective "academic" is an honourable word, indicating rigour of thought and a resolute attempt to reach correct solutions using logically defensible forms of analysis and proof. To the man in the street, and not uncommonly, to the man in government or the professions, it is a derogatory term indicating something impractical. With such men of affairs the argument that there is nothing so practical as a good theory seems to have little weight.

Two significant illustrations of this practical cast of mind in education are the public attitudes to foreign language in the curriculum, and the changing role of pre-school education.

The criterion of utility applied to foreign languages in the schools has meant a sharp decline in the study of the classics, and less slowly, in the study of European languages. Defenders, trying to meet the criticisms of the detractors on their own ground (that is, in terms of the usefulness of such studies) have advanced a number of fairly unconvincing arguments based on applications in business, the diplomatic service and teaching, or on their transfer value in other language study. The main case is an intellectualist one, dealing with the intrinsic value for a person in the extension of his cultural environment, but this does not quite fit the essentialist philosophy. The cash value of Asian languages for tourism and business is more arguable, and there have been moves to introduce courses in these at the expense of European languages. Perhaps the most lamentable expression of this utilitarian attitude to language is the tendency to regard the languages of our numerous migrant groups more as a handicap to their assimilation than as a source of enrichment to our own culture. Aboriginal languages have also been disregarded in the task of educating aborigines, but happily there have been some recent changes in this regard.

Pre-school education developed primarily as a middle class movement by parents who believed that it could assist their children's early development by offering a wider range of experience than could be provided in the home. As pre-school facilities have been extended, the concept of an educative experience has become fused with that of child-minding for working mothers and single parents. It is not clear now in considering the nature of this pre-school experience whether we are concerned with the children's education, or with their health or custodial care. It is winning acceptance on its demonstrable usefulness.

Perhaps the most significant manifestation of the view of the school as a useful institution is the recourse made to it to help solve social problems. These problems, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, sexual licence, smoking, vandalism and many others, do involve children to some extent, but principally they are adult problems. The strategy of governments is to turn to the schools for a solution by trying to teach the children to avoid the errors of their elders, so that in good time when they are adults the abuses will be corrected. It is, of course, a pathetic fallacy that the school can act alone successfully in such social reforms. It can contribute to improvement within an adult social context that is exerting a similar influence. But to believe that the schools can spearhead

campaigns of this sort is false, and even dangerous, in that it diverts attention from the ameliorative action needed in adult institutions.

There is little evidence that this essentialist philosophy is less influential in contemporary changes. There have been some protests by young people at senior high and tertiary level who ask for something more humane and personal than preparation for social and economic efficiency, but they have been fairly easily disposed of as "radicals". If anything, the almost complete professionalisation of tertiary education and the retreat from general cultural subjects in school curricula in favour of ones judged to have greater cash value, are likely to be intensified by the current emphasis on accountability and the disposition to interpret the cost-benefit relationship in economic and material terms.

Education on Demand

Since popular education was established in Australia on a secure basis in the late 19th Century, there has been a growing expectation that it would be provided on an ever-expanding scale. Its importance, as we have seen, derives from its link with occupation and social position.

The most obvious dimension of progress is the quantitative one of increased participation as measured by larger enrolments, larger percentages of particular age groups at school and higher education, more and better prepared teachers, and more and better buildings. But the greatest problem has been the human one of adjusting school programmes to the needs and abilities of the new clientele.

The secondary schools spearheaded the change, and have been subjected to the greatest stress. When secondary education prepared students for advanced academic and professional study its purpose was reasonably clear to all. It was a special *kind* of education. But when it became accepted as a *stage* of education, distinguished from other levels of education only by the age range of the students enrolled, its purpose became blurred, and its touch uncertain. This uncertainty has been compounded by changes within tertiary education itself which have affected the old affinity between academic school courses and their counterparts in universities.

A detailed history of secondary education in Australia since World War II would be a record of the attempts made to clarify its role and create effective teaching methods, school organisation, curricula, community relationships, and associated teacher education programmes to match this role. These attempts have been explored systematically at times by committees of inquiry, or undertaken randomly by individual schools seeking salvation in their own way. But few would claim that popular education at the secondary level has been an unqualified success. The task of providing the right curriculum for the right pupils within this vast range of talent, taste and ambition has to date overtaxed the ingenuity of teachers and administrators. The search for solutions continues, with experiments such as senior colleges, alternative schools, new curricula geared to personal and social adjustment, and new forms of school organisation and schemes of discipline. But there is now for the first time a hint of scepticism whether the problems are soluble in

terms of present patterns. This querulous note is at present a still, small voice; but it may become the dominant influence in future changes.

The pressure to extend facilities for more students and to diversify courses to cater for them has occurred also at the tertiary level. The major landmark in this movement is the Martin report.[13] This report mapped the area of tertiary education virtually for the first time, recognising three sectors: technical education, teachers' colleges and universities. This tripartite scheme of tertiary education has in various local forms become a reality throughout Australia, although a binary arrangement comprising universities and colleges of advanced education is the simplest description of what has occurred. Since the Martin proposals there has been a great deal of deliberation about the essential differences between the two educational domains, and about the administrative arrangements appropriate to each. These matters have concerned those who work in them probably more than the general public. From the public and governmental point of view the new institutions are seen as providing more varied opportunities for students undertaking vocational studies. But there are signs that the expansionist phase of tertiary education is being questioned, if not actually halted.

A number of influences have converged to bring about this new mood of criticism, both of secondary and tertiary education:

1. The problems of inflation and measures to curb it have brought under review programmes that previously were taken for granted.
2. An increasing number of secondary and tertiary students are openly critical of the courses they are taking. This expression of disillusionment with formal education has been given wide publicity by overseas radical critics of the school system such as Goodman, Reimer and Illich.
3. There has been mounting public criticism of educational standards achieved by the schools, particularly in basic occupational skills and social attitudes.
4. The concept of life long education has gained in acceptance, shifting the emphasis from the school level to adult education.
5. There are doubts whether many new college programmes are necessary, either because of duplication of existing courses, or of over-training for particular jobs.
6. As pointed out in the first report of the Schools Commission (1976) longer schooling for all results in the more privileged groups forging further ahead as others draw nearer to them. As the higher levels of education are substantially more expensive than the lower, public spending on education basically results in a transfer of income from poorer to richer families.

The impact of these influences and the present concern with accountability are dealt with in Chapter 4, and it is not necessary to traverse similar ground here.

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[13]Report on Tertiary Education in Australia, 1964.

What is clear is that the idea of education on demand is being modified by a more cautious view, disposed to evaluate programmes more critically. There is some advantage in this new cost-benefit approach, if only to offset an uncritical, sentimental view of the benefits of education. But there is also some danger. It would be too facile an inference that because the secondary schools have had problems in catering for a total age group, the attempt to develop popular education at this level should be given up. Nor can it be assumed that adult education can compensate for the inadequate education of young people.

The criteria used to judge whether education is successful or not are quite vital. Political assessments are being made increasingly in terms of economic models. This is a highly significant feature of contemporary Australian education.

Equality of Opportunity

Equality of opportunity has been a major article of faith in Australian education throughout its history, even though it has proved an elusive goal.

State centralised systems have been justified in terms of it because of their greater competence, both financially and in other ways, to deal with a widely scattered population, particularly in rural areas. The transfer system, which draws strong criticism from time to time, is defended on the equality principle in that it enables the education authority to staff all schools, large and small, favourably or unfavourably located, with qualified teachers. A similar philosophy has produced the one-teacher school, secondary "tops" in primary schools in small towns, correspondence teaching at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and schools of the air. Although catering for relatively few pupils (since the Australian population is heavily concentrated in towns and cities), the measures taken to equalise opportunities for rural children are among the most publicised features of Australian education at home and abroad, and some of them no doubt are among the most genuinely creative of our policies.

Another way in which the equalisation policy has been approached has been through financial assistance to students so that they will not be prevented on economic grounds from continuing their education. Both state and federal governments have given this kind of assistance. Bursaries, scholarships, remission of fees at universities, living allowances and tax concessions have enabled many students to complete their studies, and have compensated families, in part at least, for the extra expense involved, and for income foregone. Scholarships for student teachers, although provided by the authorities mainly to guarantee an adequate supply of teachers, have given many students the opportunity to gain a tertiary education which otherwise would have been denied them, and by so doing have been a significant factor in promoting social mobility. Financial assistance has also been given directly to schools, both public and independent, for special purposes such as science laboratories and libraries, and to independent schools for general recurrent costs.

In spite of these and other measures, it is clear that equality of opportunity has not kept pace with needs, and many schools have become deficient in facilities considered essential for a modern approach to schooling, and some are quite obsolete. A nation-wide survey of educational needs conducted by the Australian Education Council (comprising all the ministers for education) revealed in their report in 1970 that $1443.7 million was needed to update school facilities in the whole country for the period 1971-75. Moreover there are indications quoted in the Karmel Report and elsewhere that many children are not appearing to benefit from the available opportunities.

Consistent reports of disproportionate participation in higher education by students from different socio-economic levels has been revealed. A typical one[14] is that by Anderson and Western who show that 5.6% of male professional workers aged between 45 and 54 were the fathers of 23.5% of students entering four professional university faculties, and 33.6% of skilled and semi-skilled workers produced only 15% of the same student group. Similar results were obtained in a study of retention rates at secondary schools in N.S.W. by W. E. Moore[15] et al. This showed that 76.4% of students with high socio-economic backgrounds continued to grade 12 compared with only 14.5% from low socio-economic groups. Retention rates in schools under the control of different authorities also varied strikingly. Non-catholic independent schools retained 86.5% of their student intake until the final year; the corresponding figure for catholic schools was 35.2% and for government schools only 27.6%.[16]

Other disadvantaged groups, judging from their under-representation in the upper educational levels and in higher status occupations, are rural students, female students, students with various forms of physical and mental handicap, migrants and aborigines.

There appears to be no single common factor to explain these differences. Genetic factors, parental influence, cultural attitudes regarding sex roles in occupations and family life, ethnic prejudices, and other factors combine in various ways. Socio-economic background appears to be the most pervasive, but it itself is a product of many variables.

Success at school and in higher education leads usually to well paid positions, higher social status, and home conditions favourable to the repetition of the same cycle for children of parents with such a background. By contrast, low scholastic achievement, unskilled or semi-skilled employment, restricted cultural standards and low social status tend also to be self-perpetuating. Educational opportunity is a significant influence in bridging these two patterns of influence, but the resistance to change in both patterns is strong. As

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[14]Anderson, D. S. and Western, J. S.: "Social Profiles of Students in Four Professions". *Quarterly Review of Australian Education*, 3 (4), 1970. Quoted in the Karmel Report.

[15]Moore, W. E. et al., Centre for Research in Measurement and Evaluation: *In Loco Parentis. A Research Report from the Generation Study of Secondary School Students*. Mimeographed, March 1973. Quoted in the Karmel Report.

[16]Karmel Report, p. 20.

Halsey[17] has pointed out for the English scene, education has remained predominantly an avenue for the stable transmission of status from one generation to another.

The doctrine of equal rights to education thus has not realized the right of Australian children to equal education, and this fact has led to a greater concern by educational planners with the means of controlling the outcomes of education, as well as trying to improve access to it. The process is thereby transformed more obviously into an educational one, as it is how children are dealt with in school through the curricula they follow, the methods by which they are taught and evaluated, and the kind of learning environment that is created for them in schools that affect outcomes, although not of course independently of home and social influences generally. Politically, the doctrine of equal opportunity has been expressed mainly in getting children into school and university, and helping them to stay there. But crucial to the success of such moves are the internal professional reforms which enable children to take full advantage of the opportunities provided. These reforms do require political support, since additional financial assistance for equipment, teacher development programmes and expanded ancillary services are needed, but the central task is an educational one that can be solved only by the teaching profession. How political moves to bring greater equality about have been helped or hindered by the profession is an interesting question. The role of the profession is looked at more closely in the second part of this review.

The major new social principle in the administration of the doctrine of equal opportunity is preferential treatment to disadvantaged groups. Thus equality becomes transformed into discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups and against advantaged groups. This new interpretation of equality of opportunity is expressed very clearly in the proposals of the Karmel Report, and the first report of the Schools Commission.

The key concepts of the Karmel Report in regard to this principle of differential assistance are that of need, and priority among needs. The assessments are made along two dimensions: input of resources to schools and school systems, and degree of disadvantage of groups of pupils in particular schools. To give effect to the first it recommended assistance on a needs formula for general recurrent grants, capital grants for buildings, primary and secondary libraries, and disadvantaged schools (particularly those in inner urban areas); to give effect to the second it recommended improvements in facilities, specialist teachers, and programmes designed to promote the professional development of teachers, improving their effectiveness and stimulating their innovativeness. The major recommendations of the Schools Commission are basically in accord with these policies.

The concept of equal outcomes can very easily be oversimplified. It could scarcely be construed as identity of outcomes. No manipulation of the conditions of entry to school for the disadvantaged could ever offset entirely

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[17] Halsey, A. H.: "Sociology and the Equality Debate". *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1975, p. 14.

the influence of factors affecting individualisation of learning, and one would expect that programmes of teacher development would strengthen the likelihood that differences among students would be increased rather than reduced. Moreover, it could scarcely be justified on philosophical grounds that education should seek to increase like-mindedness in values, tastes and beliefs, and equality of competence, knowledge and interest in all areas of school work. Equality of outcomes is as fugitive a goal as equality of opportunity.

The Karmel Report accepts the equal outcomes concept in part, and interprets it as equal opportunity for all children to participate more fully in society as valued and respected members. This should be attempted by differential treatment in school so that all children gain mastery of the basic skills needed to participate effectively in that society. Beyond that it favours a wide diversity of schooling and opportunities for further education. The Schools Commission[18] echoes this concept:

> "A basic plateau of competence is needed by all children if they are to become full citizens able to exercise options. Some children and young people need more assistance and time to reach this plateau than others, and resources should be distributed and approaches varied in an effort to meet this need."

The "different-but-equal" concept of the Karmel Report as applied to outcomes of schooling brings us to the limit of present thinking about this matter: an equal valuing of people based on their common humanity, their capacity to relate to others, to enjoy the arts, to acquire physical grace and to exercise developed mental powers in all aspects of living. Such thinking, I believe, goes well beyond the dominant value systems of Australian society. Outcomes in these terms as a basis for equality may be accepted in the eyes of God, and a few charitable Australians, but I doubt whether more than lip service would be given to it by most.

Teachers are likely to respond to such a philosophy more than the society that employs them. They are paid to be idealistic; but I doubt if the "different-but-equal" concept of educational outcomes will in practice substantially affect the direction that Australian education will take.

The Administrative Pattern

The main structural features of educational administration in Australia were laid down at the time of federation, and have not changed basically since then. The six state governments are responsible for education within their states, and the federal government is responsible within its own jurisdiction. Federal responsibilities were relatively few, being limited to providing education within federal territories, maintaining facilities for the armed services, and meeting rehabilitation commitments arising out of its defence role. Most of these commitments have been met by using state authorities as agents, but recently they have been accepted directly by the Commonwealth. Thus it now functions as an authority in fact as well as in name, with its own ministry, teaching force, and administrative structure.

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[18]Op. cit., p. 7.

While the structural features have changed little, there have been far-reaching changes in the way the systems actually function. These changes are among the most prominent innovations in contemporary Australian education.

At the state level the main feature has been a delegation of authority from the central office. This has strengthened the authority of regional offices and of individual schools. The regional structure is designed to introduce more personal relationships than is possible in a highly centralized system. Specialist personnel such as guidance officers, inspectors, remedial teachers, and advisory teachers are now located at regional offices and serve the regional area, and some financial autonomy is allowed. Most states have adopted this structure, and have even extended it to their metropolitan areas. The growth of autonomy for individual schools has been slower, depending on entrenched attitudes of principals, teachers, and inspectors and on the influence of external curricula and examinations.

The relationship of the school system to the community has also changed markedly from earlier official attitudes which effectively insulated the schools from the public. Now there is a readier disposition to open educational issues to public discussion, to explain and justify policies, and to seek public support. No doubt this acceptance of more open communication with the public has been facilitated by the media. Television particularly has popularised current affairs programmes, and many educational issues have provided that touch of controversy that is so attractive to the directors of these programmes. The national commissions also by formulating policies and giving them wide publicity through printed reports and other avenues have contributed greatly to a new national consciousness about the role of education.

Yet no state has altered its traditional ministerial-departmental structure to permit expression of lay opinion through boards or commissions. Nor have regional offices established public committees to assist them, even though their policy is to meet local needs.

At the school level there has been limited experimentation with school boards, a highly novel concept for Australian government schools, even though it is commonplace for independent schools. The initiative in this move has been taken by the Commonwealth's newly created education authority, following a recommendation by the Neal-Radford Report.[19]

There is thus growing support for a pattern of administration that encourages responsibility and initiative at all levels of the system and in particular an increased level of participation in decision-making in individual schools in association with their community, even though progress towards it in practice is hesitant. The Schools Commission[20] expresses this philosophy of administration in quite positive terms.

> "The Commission is anxious to accelerate the movement of a greater degree of decision-making power to regional and school levels . . .

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[19]Neal, W. D. and Radford, W. M. C.: *Teachers for Commonwealth Schools*. A.C.E.R., 1972.

[20]Op. cit., p. 10.

it believes that decisions made at these levels should be substantive rather than trivial, that they should be made in consultation with teachers, parents, and senior students, and that unless, indeed, they give direct local power over spending they are not likely to be significant."

This concern about diffusing administrative responsibility more widely through the system has been accompanied by a growth of interest in the study of educational administration and new courses in it have appeared in tertiary institutions, and new professional associations have been established.

The changes at the state level have occurred in the school system more than in the tertiary system. Although the tertiary institutions (universities and colleges) are established and legally sustained under state law, and are co-ordinated in various patterns by state instrumentalities, their mode of operation and their financial support have passed increasingly into the hands of the Commonwealth government. This expansion of influence of the Commonwealth government is but one element in a greatly expanded Commonwealth role in education.

To appreciate the extraordinary complexity of the present administrative pattern in Australia, it should be reiterated that the Commonwealth government has no constitutional power to enact specifically educational legislation that affects the operation of institutions under state jurisdiction. It does however have power under section 96 of the constitution to assist the states financially for special purposes, and in recent years it has used this power extensively in education at all levels both public and independent.

The administrative machinery for post secondary school education is the most firmly established. This consists of three separate commissions for university education, advanced education, and technical and further education. There have been moves to combine the commissions for universities and colleges, but to date this has not happened. Each commission acts as a policy advisory body for the Commonwealth government, and within certain limits, as a regulatory body for the institutions. State boards also exist and, in varying patterns from state to state, exercise a co-ordinating role for advanced education, university education, and technical and further education. Predominantly it is the advanced education sector that is most closely moderated at the state level, but the tendency appears to be to involve other sectors as well. This trend could be intensified if new federal-state fiscal arrangements shift greater responsibility on to the states. Curiously, at present, these state instrumentalities are themselves funded by the Commonwealth. The resultant pattern is a most complex national system of tertiary education which is sustained by an authority that has no legal jurisdiction over it (except for the Australian National University and other federal institutions), but which owes its statutory existence to state governments that have no responsibility for its financial support.

The most recent intervention by the Commonwealth government has introduced quite new features into the traditional mode of educational administration at the school level. These changes were brought about through the Labor government's centralist policies of educational reform, the setting up

of the Karmel committee and the subsequent establishment of the Schools Commission. Through this additional new machinery, the Commonwealth government is able to plan more comprehensively on a national basis, and to implement its plans using financial sanctions.

To illustrate the significance of this new planning function, the three major themes enunciated by the first report of the Schools Commission are cited. These are first, an emphasis on equal outcomes from schooling; second, the encouragement of more open attitudes to educational questions, organisations and structures; and third, the maximum freedom for schools to act upon their own best judgement in dealing with its problems. These policies no doubt would be accorded considerable popular support, but for a government without constitutional authority for education, they are rather positive, to say the least of it. Whether such policies match those of the state governments who *are* the constitutional authorities, and how planning proceeds if there are differences of opinion is an intriguing question.

The Commission's innovation programme is equally positive. In giving financial support for innovative projects, special emphasis is to be given to specified types of project. These cover thirteen areas such as improving the learning of basic skills, exploring ways of opening up or modifying traditional structures and patterns of activity within schools, integrating into ordinary classes of students with special needs, including those with physical handicaps, and reducing the educational disadvantages of girls and women. Giving financial assistance for innovative projects does not necessarily control the direction of innovative effort in schools, since many innovations do not need specific funding; but it must have a significant effect on it. That priorities for changing the direction of Australian education are set by a government without legislative authority for education is likewise intriguing.

The bold intervention by the Whitlam government into the operation of the general school system has produced an administrative pattern of extraordinary complexity.

Alongside the traditional systems of the state governments, and to a degree enveloping them, is the federal system working through financial influence. It used to be possible to describe educational administration in Australia by means of pyramidal diagrams, using one or other of the states for illustration. This is no longer possible. The influence of the Commonwealth government has given these diagrams a new dimension, intersecting the old structures at all levels, and in complex ways. When to this confused pattern of school administration is added that of the tertiary and technical sectors, the resultant can only be described as an administrative mosaic. To the sober minded administrator, used to clear lines of authority, it must seem almost to be psychedelic.

Providing education in a federal system of government in which the responsibility is vested in the states is intrinsically difficult, if there is any acceptance of the need for national planning. The states may co-operate in what is judged to be nationally desirable; but since they may have quite significant ideological differences with respect to the role of education, such co-operation is likely to fall short of national policies of any significance. The

Australian Education Council, which consists of all the ministers for education, has this inherent defect as an instrument of national planning. Its members are bound more closely to their own governments than to one another.

Present Commonwealth government policy is towards a form of federalism that supports the independence of the states. The immediate prospect in educational administration is thus for a diminution of the coercive power of the Commonwealth government, and a reliance on co-operation among states for policies that need to be nation-wide in their scope. This should simplify the pattern. Whether, under such circumstances, education can still play an effective role in national development is a matter for conjecture.

THE INSIDE VIEW

The views of educationists on the many changes in which they are involved are too numerous and varied to be canvassed in a single conference or a single volume, and no attempt is made in this section to present a comprehensive summary of them.

What is attempted is to raise three broad issues that are related to the social themes already discussed, and which have a bearing on the special topics dealt with in succeeding chapters. These are as follows:

1. Research, policy formation, and innovative practice
2. The pedagogy of equal opportunity
3. Tertiary education in transition.

Research, policy formation, and innovative practice

In a stable period policies and practices tend to be taken for granted, and there is little interest in the source of their authority. However, when education is changing, concern about the rationale of change becomes apparent, and interest increases in the means by which new policies are established, or existing ones questioned, and in the arguments by which new pedagogical practices are justified.

Within the profession this has been expressed by a surge of interest in the theoretical basis of educational administration, particularly in relation to planning and organisation, and in a wide range of pedagogical research dealing with curriculum development, teaching method, evaluation, and the like. Facilities for research have been expanded to meet this new emphasis, although not to the degree considered necessary by the more enthusiastic among research-minded educators.

At the system level in the state authorities planning sections are now well developed, enabling governments to deal effectively with the basic problems of maintaining their systems, to secure information for new ventures, and to carry out a range of control studies. Their emphasis is on the technical processes of planning. Policies appear to be determined more by social and political considerations, research playing the auxiliary function of providing data, posing alternatives and their consequences, following up action already taken, confirming, modifying and checking.

At the institutional level, planning is typically restricted to routine matters, although there are some moves towards greater autonomy. On the whole the historical development of government schools as units within a relatively closed system has encouraged a dependent outlook. Although attempts have been made by authorities to reduce the pressure of the system on its constituent members, the inertia of schools has persisted. In spite of the increase in understanding by school administrators of the dynamics of school organisation, progress in applying it effectively has been slow. There is a clear need for a systematic effort to assist schools to improve their functioning as institutions. This will require special inservice programmes. At present the familiar profile of inservice education is one of individual teacher development through courses, conferences and workshops in various special areas such as curriculum, method, evaluation, librarianship, and remedial education. If individual schools were to become the units of innovation, the need for these activities would not cease, but they would become supportive rather than central.

Details of the strategies to assist schools to develop effectively are not immediately obvious; they would need to be worked out by experiment and research. There are overseas models for organisational development applied to schools (particularly in North America), and these are suggestive: but they should not be adopted uncritically. There are models also from business and industry, but these too need to be evaluated carefully to be applied to schools. Some of the more urgent tasks that need to be tackled to make organisation development a reality for Australian education are these:

1. To experiment with different types of development teams external to the school, and to clarify the role of their different members. The role of school inspectors and academics in particular need to be explored.

2. To experiment with different styles of intervention.

3. To clarify the kind of infrastructure needed within schools to initiate change, to co-operate effectively with external members of a development team, and to carry on independently afterwards.

4. To develop materials to assist schools with self-analysis and assessment, dealing with such features as school climate, principal-staff-student relationships, community relationships, curriculum objectives, evaluation practices, etc.

A more systematic approach to organisation development need not of course lead to stereotyped programmes. Schools have an individual character, and this should be respected; but most could profit from a planned scheme of development.

It is at the classroom level however that innovation has been most apparent. The response to it has been varied. Some teachers have taken up the new ideas eagerly, and encouraged others to do the same. They are like the bell-wether in a flock of sheep, more finely attuned to change than most, responding to cues that the rest barely notice.

Others react with loss of confidence, or antagonism. They resent the fact that skills gained through long experience are now considered to be inadequate; and they question the need for change.

Probably the majority of teachers fall somewhere between these two extremes. In varying degrees they respond to the new ideas, but they manage to relate them to their own, and to adapt their style of teaching. Thus they cope with change by slowing it down, an effective strategy, particularly for the period we are now entering.

The past four or five years have been intensely preoccupied with innovation. It has affected all levels of education, and involved a wide range of practice. Most of the ideas have come from outside, particularly from U.S.A. and Britain, but they have been relevant to the practices and problems of Australian education, and, with varying degrees of success, have been translated into the Australian idiom. Innovation has been the favourite theme for inservice courses, conferences, innumerable publications and research projects. A milestone was reached with the inclusion in the Karmel Report of an innovations programme, providing direct financial assistance for adventurous teachers with bright ideas to try. The zenith of this exciting period has almost certainly been reached now (1976), and a more conservative climate is replacing it. Not only is there less support for innovation, but there is a vigorous attack on so-called "progressivism" and a call to return to traditional practices to restore the standards that are claimed to be falling.

How the period ahead is handled has grave consequences for education. None of the innovations introduced in the last few years is yet firmly established, or widely practised. A loss of nerve now could threaten all that has been gained. We have now to face the sober task of trying to improve our practices without any of the rhetoric of innovation to stimulate us, and probably with fewer financial resources. This could be a salutory experience. It will require the development of a systematic rationale for the new programmes, a balanced scheme of inservice education for teachers and administrators to ensure that the programmes are effective, and a communication network with the public to make them better understood and accepted. Failure on any one of these tasks could jeopardise the success of them all.

Developing a rationale for the new programmes will involve research and theorising, but its final form needs to be simple, lucid, and free of special pleading. New ideas at the time of their introduction usually lack a comprehensive rationale. They are popularised by enthusiasts who are better at praising than explaining them. At worst they become little more than slogans, a rallying cry for the faithful. Because of this lack of definition, they are interpreted in different ways, and peripheral ideas may displace the central ones. This is not to say that new ideas in education should pass from person to person unchanged. Indeed the adoption of an innovation is most fruitfully thought of as a creative act rather than a passive acceptance of a stereotyped plan or "package". But the central idea must remain the main source of guidance.

In a time of rapid change inservice education takes on the character of an emergency operation, catering for obvious deficiencies by mass methods, high pressure courses, mass lectures, and the like. The success of such methods

is dubious, and in a more settled period it is to be hoped that a balanced programme can be established. There is a move by teacher education institutions to become centres for inservice education as well as preservice education. This, I believe, would be undesirable, just as it would be undesirable if employing authorities were to assume a predominant role. There is, of course, an important role for both academic and administrative staff in inservice education, but its centre of gravity ought to be in the profession itself, in schools and teachers' centres. This would best guarantee that it would be kept relevant to teachers' needs, and be accepted by them.

Communication with the public about innovations is essential for their success. If it is not done the vital support that home can give to school is lacking, and more seriously, there may be a backlash against the new practices. This backlash is occurring at present.

Communicating with parents is not easy. There are practical problems of time and place, and there are problems of translation of pedagogese into simple English. We have had difficulty in explaining some of the most publicised innovations to each other, and it is not surprising that the public is confused. A scheme of parental involvement which brought them into the schools to observe and participate would have most chance of success, but it would be unrealistic to think that this could be done on a wholesale scale. New strategies of communication are needed at both central and local level.

If there is support for new developments by parents, if teachers are kept informed and encouraged to participate in them, and if research projects clarify, justify or amend them, and publish readable statements of their findings, there would be a good chance that the period immediately ahead could be one of useful consolidation and progress. But the portents are not propitious.

The pedagogy of equal opportunity

Political and administrative aspects of equality of opportunity have already been discussed. The educationist naturally is concerned with these, but his involvement in the task of facilitating equality is of a different kind. It is no less than the management of schooling in a way that benefits each pupil most. All elements of the educative process are involved: the philosophy that gives it direction, the curriculum, teaching methods, evaluation, the personal characteristics of teachers and pupils, and the organisation that creates the learning environment in which the process goes on. Obviously it is not possible to discuss each of these at length in this chapter, or even in this volume. It is intended rather to concentrate on the need to mobilise these various elements so that the school functions most efficiently. The test of its efficiency is whether it provides the right conditions for each pupil to profit fully from it. This is a rigorous test when the great range and variety of aptitude and interest in its pupils are considered.

In fact, compatibility among the component elements of a school is not commonly achieved, although separately a good deal is known about each. Psychologists now are able to tell the teacher more about his pupils than he puts to use. This includes a detailed account of how children develop intellectually, socially and emotionally, how they learn, how they are motivated, and

how they differ from one another. They have also had some success in exploring the classroom as a social system, and in mapping the interactional patterns among students and teachers. They do not speak with one voice on all these matters, and no doubt there is a good deal that needs further research, but they have provided important data which any theory of education should take account of.

Curriculum specialists have revolutionised the methods by which curricula are constructed, and the form in which they are presented for teachers and students to use. Examples of modern curriculum development are found in chapters 10 and 13. They give maximum assistance to teachers and students while at the same time allowing scope for adaptation and individual interpretation.

Teaching methods are now more positively identified than ever before, being expressed as models or patterns of teacher behaviour, and related to particular behavioural responses on the part of the students, and to particular educational objectives. They do, of course, require practice and experience for both teacher and student to be effective, but the guidelines are clear enough.

The study of evaluation also has made notable advances. There has been considerable progress in the technical aspects of test construction. For example ingenious tests of the use of higher mental process in particular subjects and aptitude tests have been developed, and there has been some progress with tests of affective responses by students. Evaluation theory has clarified important contrasts such as formative-summative, internal-external, and progressive-terminal, and there has been some investigation of students' attitudes to evaluation and its effect on their satisfaction with their school experience.

As stated earlier there has been a surge of interest in educational administration. This has been expressed both at the system level and in the management of schools. Bureaucratic structures in schools have been reviewed critically, and more idealistic schemes of collegial-type organisation, more in keeping with the ethos of educational institutions, have been suggested. Issues of efficiency, morale, communication within the institution and between it and the community, decision-making, and others, have been studied and publicised. Not all in administrative positions in schools have had access to these ideas, or have sought them, and not all who have been introduced to them have put them into practice. In this area of practice, perhaps more than most, words and ideas have been consumed, rather than behaviour modified.

Finally, in this brief review of the elements of the school situation, we come to the school's objectives or philosophy. Whereas this may seem to be the most basic element, it is probably the least examined. Some broad aims may be expressed on ceremonial occasions, and some specific aims are made articulate through curriculum statements, but for the most part objectives are taken for granted, and practices perpetuated through custom and imitation. Any orderly examination of objectives must recognise the relationship between statements of objectives relevant to the societal, institutional, and teaching levels. Societal concepts such as "equality of opportunity" and "responsible

citizenship" may be quite appropriate for political purposes, but are vague for schools and teachers. Teaching objectives, in the form proposed by Bloom, may be quite appropriate for detailed lesson planning, but they lack the breadth of perspective needed for an institution. A comprehensive inventory of objectives would thus include the philosophical type statement at the societal or political level, the administrative type statement at the institutional level, and the pedagogical-psychological type statement at the teaching level. Each domain produces its own set of objectives, expressed in its own terminology, different from each other in style and substance. But each is related to the same tasks and should be compatible, even though the discourse is different. In fact, it is all too common for grandiloquent societal expressions of a philosophical kind to be disregarded or contravened in practice, and for the idealistic aspirations of particular schools to be incompatible with actual classroom practices.

The progress that has been made in the elucidation of these separate elements, has not brought about a corresponding growth in the effectiveness of the operation of schools, judged on the criterion that each student should be assisted to the full. Many children fail in school and leave it frustrated; others criticise its priorities, even when they can do the tasks it sets. Often the pace of teaching is too fast for the slow learners and too slow for the fast. Often too, the point of its curriculum is not seen by the students, or its discipline accepted as relevant to their development.

Incompatibility may exist among the elements and yet be unheeded. Objectives may point in particular directions, but practice not to follow them; teaching methods may imply that certain outcomes are important, but assessment be aimed at different ones; curriculum and teaching methods may be aligned harmoniously, but school organisation impede them; and so on.

To plan an effective school it is logical to concentrate first on clarifying its objectives, then on the organisation and the detailed educational programme, curriculum, teaching methods and evaluation. If a major directive is equality of opportunity it is to be expected that schools should try to create an organisational climate that is supportive and that provides flexible conditions of staff deployment and student grouping, to create a curriculum that caters well for each student according to his interests and aptitudes, and to encourage teaching methods and assessment schemes (both formative and summative) in harmony with these curriculum objectives.

The key element in implementing these objectives is the organisational structure. For it to be supportive the school needs to be a community, offering a protected environment for students with opportunity for experiment, tempering failure with compassion. It needs to be a satisfying and secure environment suffused with genuine attitudes of respect and friendship, in William Wilkins' words[21] (in 1886) "a place in which the pupils are ruled without harshness on the one hand, or coaxing and bribery on the other, where the pupils love and respect their teachers and see in them friends".

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[21]Wilkins, William: *The Principles that Underlie the Art of Teaching*. Government Printer, Sydney, 1886, p. 71.

To create a flexible organisation for the deployment of staff and the grouping of students wide ranging experimentation is needed. The familiar grading and streaming of children is almost certainly an unsatisfactory way to cope with individual differences. While superficially such methods seem to recognise differences by the grouping used, the homogeneity achieved is more apparent than real. At best it is achieved on the basis of very restricted criteria.

Satisfactory alternatives that genuinely give each student his best chance of success are not easy to find. Schemes such as open education are bold attempts to provide such alternatives, but they should not be accepted complacently as a panacea.

Curriculum policy is crucial to the pursuit of a school's objectives. It reveals perhaps more clearly than any other aspect of the school's policy the interpretation that is being placed on the concept of opportunity. There is considerable pressure on schools, particularly at secondary level, to align themselves with the vocational structure in adult society, and to view the curriculum as a preparation for employment, particularly when the economy is depressed. This pressure comes at least as much from parents as from employers. In responding to this the school acts as a sorting agency reflecting the divisions and hierarchies of social and occupational status. Vocational education is an important activity for both the individual and society, but it should not be allowed to dominate education. In the area of general education, opportunity should be judged rather by the scope given children to explore, understand, and appreciate their environment, and more distant environments, in their material, social and cultural aspects.

The choice of significant knowledge of the environment is virtually limitless, and only small parts of it can be mastered by one person. This element of choice is an important factor in establishing equal opportunity, but even more crucial is familiarity with the methods by which knowledge is gained and expressed, and by the codes of behaviour that regulate them. These enable the student to explore various fields of knowledge while at school, and later out of school in applications to vocation, leisure and citizenship. The methods involve the basic skills used in language and number, but they extend beyond these into more complex patterns such as scientific method, and methods of social science, linguistics, literary criticism and logic. Traditionally we have treated these as subjects in isolation rather than as tools to be used by students in gaining knowledge. Giving children the best conditions to master these skills is a major contribution to equality of opportunity. The curriculum should be planned in terms of activities that involve them.

With this approach to curriculum, and its learning environment, appropriate methods of teaching and testing fit readily into place. Clearly all methods will be useful for some purposes, but the emphasis would be on those that encourage discovery and independent learning. These would best suit a programme that is individualised, both in its pace for different children learning the same things, and in its style and substance for children learning different things. Testing similarly would also be geared to individual programmes, being flexible in its timing and substance.

This coherence then in the whole pedagogical setting is a major influence in assisting a school to gain maximum efficiency and because of this, in giving teachers their best chance of contributing to the objective of equal opportunity for all students.

Tertiary education in transition

As has already been pointed out the Martin committee proposed a tripartite scheme of tertiary education comprising the universities, the technical sector and the teachers' colleges, an arrangement which, with some variations from state to state, has come into existence. In the process the institutions have undergone significant changes, and there have been some problems. Some of these changes and problems are sketched briefly in this section.

The teachers' colleges have probably changed most. From being two year colleges controlled by the teacher-employing authorities, and not clearly recognised as part of the higher education sector, they have become autonomous institutions offering degrees. Some of them have also introduced courses other than teaching such as business, journalism, social work and child care. This move to diversify these colleges, which is supported by the authorities, is justified both on educational and pragmatic grounds. Educationally it is argued that the influence of students and staff engaged in non-teaching courses is beneficial to student teachers in assisting them to gain a wider social perspective than is possible in a single purpose institution, and so help to meet the criticism that teachers in a sense "never leave school". The practical advantages claimed are that the institution can more readily maintain an economic size, and also is better placed to redeploy staff if enrolments in particular courses fall. This later contingency is a realistic one at present as the supply of many kinds of teachers reaches saturation point. The educational argument is by no means conclusive. It seems equally plausible to argue that in a single purpose institution the commitment of staff and students to the objectives of a programme is likely to be greater than in a multi-purpose one. Nor is it quite clear that the teacher education programme in a multi-purpose institution benefits from the presence of other programmes. In fact it is not uncommon in other countries where teachers' colleges have been converted into multi-purpose institutions for the teacher education programme to suffer in the competition for resources, and sometimes in prestige. In some cases at least the development of a first rate single purpose college may be a more desirable objective than diversification.

The increased length of training to three and four years has removed the most obvious objections that the two year course was too short to allow adequate attention to the wealth of professional knowledge now available, and the need to raise the students' level of general education. But it has created its own problems. The tasks of managing practice teaching effectively and relating it to educational theory are probably made more difficult by the longer course. In a short training course there is little pretence made that other than rules of thumb and common sense are needed. When there are substantial courses in psychology, sociology, and other professional subjects their implications for

practice have to be taken account of. This may be difficult because of ineffective liaison between college and school, or because the school itself does not accept the theories taught. The result can be either that the student becomes sceptical of the value of the theoretical courses and wonders why the whole course need be as long as it is, or he becomes critical of the system into which he is going.

With the more extended and complex curriculum there is also the difficulty of achieving coherence. There is a tendency for the staff to specialise more as they increase in numbers and in quality, and to form separate departmental or other functional groupings. This helps to fragment the curriculum as it is experienced by the student. It is usually left to the student to try to unite what the staff has divided. Most do this unsuccessfully.

There are unresolved problems also concerning the best way to improve the students' general education. Most programmes use an elective system, but it is at least debatable whether these should be prescribed elements. It would be interesting to hear the argument for a higher level of general education spelt out rather than being taken for granted. It is likely that the objectives of this part of the students' course would then be clearer.

The importance of the work of technical and technological institutions was clearly recognised by the Martin committee. It believed that the rate of growth in this sphere should be greater than in any other sphere of tertiary education.[22] This emphasis has been made a reality with the upgrading and enlargement of existing institutions, the enlargement of others, and the special provisions now being made for technical and further education. This expansion has resulted in some blurring of the identity of the institutes of technology. Their activities have been extended beyond even the most liberal interpretation of "technology", transforming them into omnibus institutions overlapping both the universities, the technical colleges, and in some cases the teachers' colleges. Professional opinion is divided whether they should emphasise more their role in higher education and become more homogeneous, or develop more comprehensively. These issues are more sharply focused in the regions rather than in the metropolitan areas, where the institute may be the only tertiary institution. The generic term "advanced education" may well override the historical one "technology" in the functions of the institutes of technology, if not in their title.

The universities also have undergone some loss of identity. In spite of their strong faculties of arts and science, and their stress on research, vocational courses have been a major, if not dominant activity, and in recent years these vocational courses have multiplied beyond those for the older professions. It would probably be correct to say that the appeal of the university to the public has been based on its role as a high level vocational institution rather than on those functions which the university itself would value most. Now that there are alternative institutions offering many of the courses taught in universities this appeal has diminished. The present depressed economy also has led to a more critical approach by the public to general

[22]Op. cit., p. 38.

studies in the arts and science faculties which do not lead directly to employment. Thus in the public estimation the universities appear to have lost ground in recent years. Their distinctiveness on vocational grounds is challenged, and their appeal in terms of pure studies and research is less than it was. It seems likely that in the future universities will have to rely less on their traditional prestige, and more on their capacity to win and maintain acceptance through the quality of their work. This change could be beneficial, but it will be a pity if, in this new state of competition, the non-vocational courses are the casualties. Whether they are or not will depend in the long run on the quality of Australian society, and what it wants from its institutions of higher learning.

The current concerns of the tertiary sector are those of competition for increasingly scarce financial resources, rationalisation of course offerings, the degree of support for liberal studies, innovation and research, and the new federal-state administrative context in which the autonomy of the institutions has now to function. While the future of liberal studies, innovation and research may be the most serious of these issues in the long term, it is likely that the administrative pattern is the most urgent, at least for those who work in the institutions. By the time this is published, the nature of the "new federalism" as it affects tertiary education will be known. At present it is not, but there are signs that it will involve a higher level of state control than at present, and a greater state participation in financial support. How this will apply is not known, but there are signs in a number of states that there will be more co-ordination at both state and federal levels than exists at present, and that some form of financial assistance by the states will replace the present system of complete federal funding.

Some of these issues, and others raised in this introductory chapter are examined in more depth in succeeding chapters.

LABOR'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION 1972-1975

D. S. ANDERSON

This paper is in three parts: in the first I outline the main decisions with respect to education taken by the Whitlam Labor Government; this is followed in the second part by an examination of the policies and actions of the Labor Government; finally there is some discussion of what seem to me to be its most significant achievements.

I

After coming to power on 2 December 1972 the new Labor Government moved quickly in education. By taking initiatives in all levels, and doing so rapidly, it helped to generate a general sense of excitement and a feeling that there were new directions in Australian education.

A striking example of speedy action was the establishment of the Schools Commission. The Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission was appointed only eleven days after the election, on 13 December 1972, and presented its influential report *Schools in Australia* the following May. Government response to the report was almost as swift as its appointment of the committee: the Schools Commission Bill was introduced in the House on 27 September 1973 and the States Grants (Schools) Bill on 15 November. After considerable publicity, lengthy parliamentary debates and political compromises the bills were passed, and within one year of Labor's coming to power the Schools Commission was a reality.[1]

A number of other initiatives concerned the investigation of educational needs and the establishment of advisory bodies.[2] On 7 March 1973 the Committee on Open University was appointed to investigate what should be done by the Federal Government to make tertiary education available to those without normal entry requirements. Also in March 1973, the Interim Committee for the Pre-Schools Commission was appointed. Although it presented its report in due course a pre-schools commission was never set up: in the meantime concern among both educators and politicians had shifted more towards child-care and the establishment of a Children's Commission. The Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education was appointed in April 1973 to investigate the needs of the 400,000 technical students not covered by the activities of the Schools Commission and the tertiary commissions.

The rapid increase in spending on education under Labor was equally dramatic. Expenditure by the Commonwealth on education almost doubled in

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[1]For a full account of the establishment of the Schools Commission, see P. M. Weller, "The Establishment of the Schools Commission — A Case Study in the Politics of Education" in I. K. F. Birch and D. Smart (eds.), *The Federal Government and Australian Education, 1964-1975*, Primary Education, Melbourne (forthcoming).

[2]Many of the Labor Government's initiatives in education have been described and discussed by the Labor Minister for Education, Kim E. Beazley in "The Labor Party in Opposition and Government", in Birch and Smart, op. cit.

1973/74, and again in 1974/75, rising from $443m. in 1972/73 to $1,672m. in 1974/75. Of that $1,672m., $552m. was spent on universities, $393m. on CAEs and teachers' colleges, and $574m. on schools, pre-schools and child-care. Despite the magnitude of these amounts and the rapid rate of increase it should be noted that the Commonwealth's contribution to the cost of *schooling* remained only a small proportion of the total cost: about 10 per cent.[3]

In the tertiary education sector the Labor Government assumed full financial responsibility and abolished university, teachers' college and CAE tuition fees. Federal support for teachers' colleges was extended to approved non-government institutions. Technical education fees were also abolished, and financial support to the states in this sector increased by 350 per cent, from $19m. in 1972/73 to $71m. in 1974/75. The competitive Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship Scheme was abolished and replaced with schemes of secondary and tertiary allowances awarded according to need. Adults wishing to re-enter secondary education were eligible for assistance under the Tertiary Allowance Scheme. An Isolated Children's Assistance Scheme was also established to combat the educational disadvantages of geographical isolation.

Attempts to meet the special needs of disadvantaged groups such as migrants and Aborigines were made in a number of ways. An Advisory Council on Migrant Education was formed, and also a Committee on the teaching of languages of major migrant groups in schools. Bilingual and multi-cultural programmes began to be established in a number of schools. Language programmes for adults were improved by introducing full-time courses, a home tutoring scheme for migrant women, and television programmes. In Aboriginal education a new emphasis was placed on Aboriginal culture and language: bilingual teaching programmes were developed which, particularly in the early years of primary education, use Aboriginal languages as the major medium of instruction and take their content from the traditional tribal culture. The Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme, which had applied only to Aboriginal children over 14 years of age, on 11 January 1973 was extended to apply to all Aboriginal secondary students. Efforts were also made to increase the number of Aborigines involved in Aboriginal education, and in 1975 a scheme for study abroad for Aboriginal leaders was established.

Other inputs by the Labor Government into education include the establishment of the Curriculum Development Centre ("to foster curriculum and materials development from pre-school to post-secondary levels"[4]) and

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[3]Summaries of expenditure on education in recent years by the Federal and State Governments are given in the Schools Commission *Report for the Triennium 1976-78*, Canberra, AGPS, 1975, Appendix B, and in the Minister for Education's Information Paper for the 1975/76 Budget. Mr. Beazley's Information Paper, which takes the title "Education in the 1975/76 Federal Budget and the Labor Government's Achievements in Education since December 1972", also presents an official Labor Government summary of its own achievements.

[4]Interim Council for the Curriculum Development Centre, *Functions and Mode of Operation of the Curriculum Development Centre*, Canberra, 1974, p. 4.

the establishment of a Federal Department of Education, splitting up the old Department of Science and Education and expanding the new Department of Education to coordinate and administer many of the new initiatives (as well as taking over existing education programmes from other Commonwealth departments, such as the Department of Immigration and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs).

If thus far this paper has resembled a political speech it is because it has been based on political statements by the Labor Government.[5] However, this "litany of achievements", as the Labor Minister Mr. Beazley has called it,[6] is of course not sufficient for any final estimation of the Labor Government's achievements in education. Only the perspective of history will make an accurate assessment possible. Nevertheless, it is possible to begin to estimate the value to education of the Labor Government's actions. So let us turn to policies.

II

As a start it is useful to see what was intended by Labor by examining the stated policies of the Party as they are found in the official platform — especially that adopted at the 1971 ALP federal conference — and in Mr. Whitlam's policy speeches during the 1972 and 1974 elections.

The first thing which becomes apparent from an examination of these policies is that, when Labor came to power in 1972, it had no detailed scheme for the reform of Australian education. In this respect the ALP can be contrasted with the British Labour Party, which, in opposition and in government, developed detailed plans for education with an articulated philosophical underpinning.

At the time of the 1972 election the inability of Labor spokesmen on education to give specific details of plans for educational reform appeared suspect; with the wisdom of hindsight, however, it now appears that this lack of dogma was a strong point rather than a hindrance. For one thing, it left the Government free to respond to needs as they became apparent in what was a time of rapid change in educational thought and practice. Labor's attitude to education was a straightforward moral one rather than ideological: it was committed to improving education, but not to moving it in any particular direction except that implied by the Party's egalitarian philosophy. The actual details of these improvements were a matter to be worked out by commissions and committees composed of experts but with representation of the lay public. The Government would supply the resources necessary to implement the recommendations of its advisers.

This lack of dogma in Labor's education policy was to a considerable extent due to the overcoming of long standing divisions within the Party.

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[5]Especially "Education in the 1975/76 Federal Budget and the Labor Government's Achievements in Education since December 1972".

[6]Kim E. Beazley, Minister for Education, Statement during 1975 Federal Election, p. 3.

It is commonplace that the frequency of factional infighting within the Labor Party is a reflection of the diversity of social groups from which it draws support. What I have called the Labor Government's moral stance in respect to education was the result of a search for a position acceptable to all sections of the Party. A simple stance on behalf of equality, on behalf of social justice and the value of education itself provided a common denominator of agreement between the more radical and the more conservative elements of the Labor movement.

The urgency of Labor's need for consensus on education policy becomes apparent when we consider even as late as February 1972 Labor parliamentarians — in this case Senators J. R. McClelland and B. R. Millner — still publicly expressed reservations concerning State-aid to non-government education, despite the official Labor Party platform that need alone should determine the level of Federal aid to education.[7]

One can see how far the Party has come when it is recalled that in August 1969 Senator Murphy, discussing the then Labor opposition's policy for a Schools Commission said "The Commission must have regard to the following needs and priorities: firstly the primary obligations of Governments to provide and maintain Government school systems of the highest standard open to all children. That means — and let there be no doubt about it — Government schools first."[8]

The absence of dogma in the Labor Government's policy has made it possible to achieve something of a consensus within the community at large. It is remarkable how the educational debate has been depoliticised, with the focus shifting from the long standing controversy over State-aid to unexceptionable issues such as equality and need. It was in the same parliamentary session that Senator Murphy put his view that Mr. Whitlam said, "This Parliament has an unprecedented opportunity to unite all the people behind a programme of Commonwealth aid to all schools. We could have destroyed this year for all time, the twin shibboleths of State-aid and State-rights which have hindered educational advances for so long."[9]

The major embodiment of this consensus is the Schools Commission, which has managed to work towards an equitable scheme of provision for *all* schools according to a concept of needs rather than deteriorating into a battleground for the various sectional interests represented on the Commission. The fact that the Commission is not comprised of representatives of the major interest groups as such, but of individuals, albeit with backgrounds in state, catholic and independent education, has been crucial in developing consensus.

Labor's policy contained ideas of increased equality of opportunity, of funding according to need, and increased access to education, and was based on the principle that the Commonwealth had a central role to play in

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[7]See Beazley, in Birch and Smart, op. cit.

[8]Quoted by Weller, op. cit., in Birch and Smart.

[9]Ibid.

educational provision. The Party platform adopted in 1971 asserted that "Everyone has the right to education. It is the obligation of the Commonwealth and the States in cooperation to provide and operate educational services, which shall be available to all without charge."[10] It was to be left to the experts to work out the details of these ideas and to devise systems capable of operating in the spirit of these ideas. The Commonwealth Government would supply the resources.

Mr. Whitlam reaffirmed these ideas in his 1972 policy speech. He said:

> "The most *rapidly growing sector* of public spending under a Labor Government will be education. Education should be the great instrument for the promotion of equality . . .
>
> "The Labor Party is determined that every child who embarks on secondary education in 1973 shall, irrespective of school or location, have as good an opportunity as any other child of completing his secondary education and continuing his education further. The Labor Party believes that the Commonwealth should give most assistance to those schools, primary and secondary, whose pupils *need* most assistance.
>
> "We reject the proposition that administrative convenience should override the real needs of schools. We reject the argument that well-endowed schools should get as much help from the Commonwealth as the poorest state or parish school, just because it is easier to count heads than to measure needs."[11]

In this policy "equality" is linked to an idea of "needs". The needs of some are greater than the needs of others, and so, if genuine equality is to become a possibility it is necessary to give more to disadvantaged groups. In other words, "positive discrimination" will be used to ensure that the outcomes of education are equal. While it may be the case, as one commentator has suggested,[12] that a rather traditional concept of equality of opportunity is being drawn on here, it is nevertheless true that the emphasis on the differential needs of various social groups has stimulated a great deal of thought and action on this topic. That the precise nature of "needs" was left undefined does not lessen the importance of this development in education policy.

As it is being worked out the idea of funding according to needs has two aspects. First, there is the setting of certain *minimum standards* of educational provision, and the supplying of resources to enable those standards to be achieved. The idea that a good deal of education in Australia did not reach a minimum level of provision was widespread during the 1960s and early 1970s. As early as 1967, for example, the Labor opposition deputy leader,

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[10]Australian Labor Party. *Platform Constitution and Rules* as approved by the 29th Commonwealth Conference, Launceston, 1971, p. 11.

[11]E. G. Whitlam: *Labor Party Policy Speech 1972*. Sydney, Standard Publishing House, 1972, p 12.

[12]J. K. Matthews and R. T. Fitzgerald, "Educational Policy and Political Platform: The Australian Labor Government". *Australian Education Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 9.

Mr. Barnard, declared that "only massive intervention at the Federal level can stave off the imminent breakdown of education in this country".[13]

Such views are corroborated by the 1975 Report of the Schools Commission, which declares that "Only those who are ignorant of the condition of schools throughout the country and the quality of their services could doubt that substantial improvements are needed before people concerned for the education of children in Australia could be satisfied with the effort made on their behalf" (p. 13). It noted that "the conditions which caused the Interim Committee to declare inner-city schools in the larger metropolitan areas serving the least affluent communities a disgrace have been only marginally improved by increased Australian Government funding over the past two years" (p. 13).

The application of the minimum standards concept is embodied in the Schools Commission's Recurrent Resources Index — based largely on the number of professional staff and other goods and services — for primary and secondary schools throughout Australia. The target, as stated in the 1975 Report (p. 17) is to have all primary schools at a minimum desirable level of resources by 1980 and all secondary schools by 1982.

It is this first aspect of the needs policy which has consumed the vast bulk of funds for education during Labor's period in office. In schooling and tertiary education especially most capital and recurrent expenditure has been on the replacement and improvement of existing facilities, provision of new places, improving student/staff ratios and providing necessary specialist staff.

The second aspect of the needs concept as it is being worked out is the recognition that various points in the education system and various social groups have especially acute needs which must be met if all children are to benefit from education. This means more resources to some schools than others, and it means resources directed to particular points such as disadvantaged schools for special education, for teacher development and for innovations.

Among the social groups receiving special attention are Aborigines and migrants. Aboriginal education is now clearly recognised as one major area with very special needs. With respect to the introduction of bilingual Aboriginal education based on Aboriginal culture, the Minister, Mr. Beazley, has written that this was "morally . . . the most important decision of the Government . . . In terms of political support the achievement is negligible. Its moral significance is very great."[14] To measure precisely what has been achieved through this programme would be very difficult, but it is indisputable that it has led to education being perceived by Aborigines as more relevant to their needs and aspirations than previously and had increased Aboriginal interest in and expectations of education.[15] The Aboriginal Consultative Group of the Schools

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[13]Quoted by Beazley, in Birch and Smart, op. cit.

[14]Beazley, op. cit., in Birch and Smart.

[15]Changing Aboriginal attitudes to education are discussed at length by C. Duke and E. Sommerlad, *Design for Diversity*, Education Research Unit A.N.U. Occasional Report Series, 1976.

Commission has done a great deal to investigate the educational needs and aspirations of Aborigines, and its reports are very impressive.[16]

In migrant education also it is difficult to judge, on the information available to date, the extent to which advances towards equality of educational opportunity and outcomes are being made. There are programmes administered by the Commonwealth Department of Education — such as intensive language courses and television courses for adults, and the home-tutoring programmes for migrant women, and there are the initiatives funded by the Schools Commission, such as provision of bilingual teaching programmes in schools with large migrant intakes and projects under the Disadvantaged Schools Programme.

Less progress has been made with programmes to meet the educational needs of other disadvantaged social groups, such as low socio-economic groups, country students and girls.[17] A more precise estimation of the achievement of the Schools Commission's programmes should be possible when the number of evaluation studies currently being undertaken by the Commission are completed.

A further major aspect of Labor's quest for equality in education was an attempt to ensure more equal access to all types of education for all social groups. Mr. Beazley has written that "It was the aim of the Labor Party to carry through a revolution of access to education."[18] To this end the Government abolished tuition fees in universities and colleges of advanced education; it also abolished technical college fees. A $3m. grant was made to universities and CAEs for on-campus loans and grants to students suffering financial hardship. Fees, however, are only one of the barriers to tertiary education; the cost of living while studying is another, therefore the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme was introduced at the same time as fees were abolished. "The Government", said Mr. Beazley, "recognises that the goal of promising equality of educational opportunity for tertiary students must include helping needy students as well as abolishing fees".[19]

In non-tertiary sectors action included the Assistance for Isolated Children Scheme, the replacing of Commonwealth secondary scholarships with the means-tested Secondary Grants Scheme, tertiary allowances for adult secondary students, and the extension of the Aboriginal Secondary Grants Scheme.

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[16]See Aboriginal Consultative Group, Report to the Schools Commission, *Education for Aborigines*, June 1975, and *Aborigines and Technical and Further Education*, March 1976.

[17]For discussion of the special needs of various social groups and ways of meeting those needs, see *Schools in Australia*, Chs. 9 and 10; *Schools Commission, Report for the Triennium 1976/78*, Chs. 6-9, 14 and 15; Report by a Study Group to the Schools Commission, *Girls, Schools and Society*, November 1975.

[18]Beazley, op. cit., in Birch and Smart.

[19]Quoted, Commission on Advanced Education, *Fourth Report 1976-1978*, Canberra, AGPS, 1975, p. 3.

The removal of formal academic barriers to entry to tertiary education was a concern of the Committee on Open University, which produced its report in December 1974. This report made wide-ranging recommendations concerning the provision of open tertiary education, basing its judgements on the conviction that "tertiary courses should be available to all Australians who have a reasonable prospect of coping with them".[20] The Committee recommended that a National Institute of Open Tertiary Education "be established . . . with the general objective of expanding opportunities in tertiary education for all sections of the community".[21] This expansion should take the form of a network of open education facilities in existing tertiary institutions rather than a special new institution modelled on the British Open University. Due to the financial strain under which the Government found itself at the time of the 1975/76 Budget, however, NIOTE was not established.[22]

To determine the precise efforts of these various attempts to increase access to education would be difficult. However, there is some evidence to suggest that abolition of tertiary fees and availability of financial support for students led to increased participation by lower socio-economic groups. In a Department of Education survey of students who rejected places in tertiary institutions in 1973 more than one-third gave insufficient finance as the main reason for not accepting the course offered[23]; and in a study I reported at ANZAAS there is evidence that very substantial numbers of current students would have been deterred by fees.[24]

Labor had a stated ideal of open government, which it linked with the use of commissions. Mr. Whitlam said in his policy speech in 1972 that

> "A key channel of communication between Parliament and the people will be a number of expert commissions making regular reports and recommendations on new spending . . .
>
> "These bodies will not merely be exercises in more efficient, more expert administration of public affairs, they will be an expression of our determination to keep the public informed and to keep the public involved in the public debate on the great national affairs and the great national decisions . . ."[25]

There is concern here not only with the Government keeping the public informed, but also with the people keeping the Government informed. Labor, Mr. Whitlam indicated, would reject "the demeaning idea that the Government

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[20]Committee on Open Education: *Open Tertiary Education in Australia*. Canberra, AGPS, 1975, p. 98.

[21]Ibid., p. 99.

[22]Beazley, op. cit., in Birch and Smart.

[23]Australian Department of Education: *Why Students Reject Tertiary Places*. Educational Issues Series No. 1.

[24]D. S. Anderson: "The Social Characteristics of Students Entering Tertiary Institutions in Australia". Paper read to Section 22, ANZAAS, 1976.

[25]Whitlam, op. cit., p. 8.

always knows best" and bring grass-roots participation into decision-making.[26] This notion of community involvement in policy formation was to become important to an extent that no political party could have foreseen in 1972, in areas such as Aboriginal affairs and urban and regional development as well as education. In education I believe it still has a good way to go, but it is evident in school-based decision-making and school-based funding.

The commissions have increased the availability of information concerning educational matters, thereby making well informed debate possible. In the 1960s there was not much pressure on the State Governments, the Catholic and other non-government education systems to communicate or explain their actions to each other or to the public. The increasing role of the Commonwealth Government in education both through funding and through the operation of its commissions has required that information relevant to decision-making be made readily available. The implementation of the needs philosophy is an obvious example. This increased flow of information also energised public debate on education. Nevertheless, there are still very large gaps in the publicly available information about schools in Australia.

There has been an attempt to involve the general public in educational planning. The Committee on Open University, for example, received a large number of submissions, ranging from "single-page letters to substantial theses", from individuals, groups and organisations, and held discussions with many others.[27] The Committee "was impressed with the fact that no outright critics of openness came forward".[28] It also made its report available in draft form for public comment. Similarly, the Kangan Committee on Technical and Further Education reports that "ACOTAFE received more than two hundred written submissions ranging from organisations actively and currently involved in technical and further education to individuals with a concern for but not necessarily any involvement with the field. They were of high quality and strongly influenced the Committee's conclusions and, subsequently, its recommendations."[29] The Karmel Committee also relied heavily on submissions and representations from the public when framing its report and recommendations.[30]

Certainly the idea of expert committees calling for and receiving submissions was not an innovation of the Whitlam Government. In Australian education there is the earlier example of the Martin Committee, which relied in part on submissions from the public for material for its report, *Tertiary Education in Australia*, presented in 1964. However, this is a rather isolated example in the history of earlier governments; it is the number and range of commissions and committees set up by the Whitlam Government which is

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[26]Ibid.

[27]*Open Tertiary Education in Australia*, Ch. 6 and Appendices B and C.

[28]Ibid., p. 62.

[29]Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education: *TAFE in Australia*, 2 Vols. Canberra, AGPS, 1974, p. xxiii.

[30]Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission: *Schools in Australia*. Canberra, AGPS, 1973, pp. 5-6, Appendices B and C.

significant because it shows that the process of consultation and advice by experts became a central, integral part of government procedure.

"Government by commission" raises a number of problems, not the least of which is the danger that in framing its recommendations each commission or committee will consider only the limited field of its interest or responsibility and fail to give adequate consideration to the Government's total responsibilities. Governments are always faced with the problem of distributing limited resources among different areas of social need in accordance with a scale of priorities and the constraints of the general economic situation. To what extent, therefore, should the education commissions take the general economic climate and the total responsibilities of the government into consideration when making their recommendations? This is not an academic question, but one of great practical importance. Mr. Beazley has stated that "the magnitude of triennial recommendations" of the education commissions "shocked" the Government and were a major factor in its decision to delay the next triennium.[31] The lack of coordination of recommendations and financial demands, the apparent "massive competition between universities and colleges of advanced education for resources"[32] and the failure of the commissions to give adequate consideration to the rapidly changing national economic climate when making their recommendation suggests that the usefulness of advisory bodies may be limited unless the commissions are able to adopt a wider perspective. Moves to amalgamate commissions — as in the case of the Universities Commission and the Commission on Advanced Education — have gained some support from these considerations, though whether such moves would in fact solve these problems is another matter.

III

Many of the themes of this paper were evident in education before the advent of the Whitlam Labor Government. The creation and growth of the Australian College of Education, for example, with its diverse membership, demonstrated that consensus on many issues was possible; and in society the siege mentality and bigotry of earlier decades was clearly waning. Again, assessing needs was not a new idea, and the Interim Schools Committee was given a flying start by a survey of needs which had been made some time earlier. Other examples are the use of commissions to advise the Government in education — a strategy which was begun by the Menzies Government with the creation of the Australian Universities Commission and later what was to become the Commission on Advanced Education — and the funding of teacher education, which had been proposed by committees of the previous government.

There will no doubt always be revised estimates from different vantage points in history of the achievements of particular governments. At this point, however, the major achievement of the Labor Government must be seen

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[31]Beazley, op. cit., in Birch and Smart.

[32]Ibid.

as the moves in the direction of consensus. There is now a framework within which Catholics and Protestants, those in government and non-government schools, Labor and Liberal can discuss the progress of education without recourse to conflicting positions. Need has been accepted by all major interest groups as the basis for funding. It is accepted that the disadvantaged children — whether defined according to social or psychological criteria — have a special claim. It has been accepted that judgements about relative need *can* be made, and that formulae for assessing need, however crude, are better than no assessment at all. It has been accepted that a group of experts, open to public opinion, should be permitted to make judgements and make recommendations to the Government accordingly.

While this achievement will, I believe, be judged by history to be a great one, it is precarious. It is also — in quantitative terms — modest. As we have seen the bulk of the additional federal funding — at least three-quarters of it — goes to general recurrent and general building programmes. This has led one critic[33] to say that the Karmel proposals mean more of the same. This I belive is unfair. The underlying causes of the 100 years of acrimonious sectarian argument have not vanished overnight, and only a small move forward, perhaps only a token move, was possible. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy achievement that the Labor Party was able to overcome its traditional hostility to independent and church schools and present the electorate with an acceptable positive programme of funding schools according to need. This consensus within the Party, and within the community, will be tested as voluntary contributions continue to wither and large numbers of church schools become completely dependent on income from government for the greater part of their resources. It is also too early to tell whether Mr. Whitlam's prophecy of cooperation between the Commonwealth and the States will be realised.

The second achievement is that the debate on education in Australia has been energised as new structures are tried out and as more information is available. Some of the structures are controversial and may not survive. The Schools Commission Innovations Programme, which accounts for a negligible proportion of funds, is recognising the authority of individual teachers and individual schools to make innovations and is providing a measure of autonomy by direct funding. This is potentially irritating, to say the least, to the planners and administrators in the State bureaucracies, and may be counter-productive in particular schools where the innovations threaten established practice. Whatever the outcome of the innovations programme — and I hope that it will be sufficiently adaptive to survive — it has stimulated new strategies for renewal in schools.

At the tertiary level the achievements of the last few years are less clear. The abolition of fees could be held to be socially regressive, entailing a transfer of taxpayer's money to a demonstrably better off section of society. Even though there is evidence that a proportion of new students entering

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[33]Matthews and Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 27.

universities and colleges would have been deterred by tuition fees, the fact remains that tertiary students as a whole belong to the financially better off strata of society. Further, with complete funding of universities and colleges by the Commonwealth Government, the independence which universities and colleges have enjoyed could be threatened.

At the beginning of this paper I referred to the general sense of excitement which permeated education circles in the early days of a Labor Government. That excitement now perhaps seems a long way off, a long time ago. In the wake of a euphoria of spending has come the more sober mood in education today. At this point, however, there appear to be important new directions in Australian education, directions embodying partnerships which in former times were only dreamt about.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT*

H. R. HUDSON

I begin with a cautionary tale.

It takes a certain kind of wood to make the drumstick used in jazz bands of the thirties. The wood is from a tree which takes many years to mature. A forward-looking company in Wisconsin marketing these drumsticks undertook a large scale planting of the trees in anticipation of a steadily expanding future market. But the best laid plans can sometimes go wrong, and musical fashions change. The foreseen demand was not forthcoming. The factory which had been specifically designed to manufacture the drumsticks was faced with the apparently inevitable prospect of closure.

Not content to accept its fate, the company engaged the services of an imaginative sales consultant, and briefed him to find new markets for its drumsticks.

Within five years the company's name was an international household word.

In southern Europe it was attached to individual stakes for baby tomato plants.

Its chopsticks amounted to a seal of approval for exclusive Hong Kong restaurants.

In Paris, up-and-coming management executives used its batons to give audio-visual presentations of new financial programmes.

Its asymmetrical timber window frames became the rage in several African capitals.

Campers everywhere used its sticks to rub together to make fire.

No self-respecting British colonel was to be seen without a company swagger stick under his arm.

I understand there is no truth in the rumour that the company is currently canvassing the Australian pre-school market for the sale of canes.

The story illustrates one of the most important goals of education today: that of promoting adaptability, flexibility and imagination.

Education has been described as the process by which people are initiated into the human cultural inheritance. Formal education is the deliberate, publicly sponsored, initiation of students into the range of intellectual and practical skills, behaviour patterns, relationships and attitudes which bear on and enrich everyday life in the complex modern world.

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*I am extremely grateful to my Research Assistant, Ione Brown, for all her assistance in the preparation of this paper.

The almost baffling rate of change we are witnessing today has created a new imperative for education systems everywhere. The imperative is to ensure that students, who can no longer expect to follow the predictable life patterns of their parents and grandparents, are equipped not only with basic skills of communication and computation but also with the capacity to carry their initial learning further as need arises for different specialised skills.

This responsibility on the part of the education system is not entirely new, but it has assumed urgency in recent years as the full extent of industrial and technological change has become apparent, with its accompanying potential for social disruption. Unsaleable skills, or lack of skills, are both personally damaging to the individual and economically damaging for the community. An education system which in this era does not prepare people to meet the challenge of change is not doing its job.

The impact of change poses some difficult problems for the assessment of advancement in education. I want to make it clear that I am using the word advancement qualitatively, not chronologically nor quantitatively. That is, I do not believe that it occurs automatically with the passage of time, nor does it occur inevitably with increasing numbers of teachers or tape recorders per student. Educational advancement in the sense in which I am using the word involves a judgement of improvement in the quality of educational service that is offered and improvement in the outcomes of the operation of that service.

There are reasonably clear indexes by which achievement in development of basic skills can be measured. Adaptability and flexibility, however, are attitudes, and attitudes are not quantifiable. Furthermore, a democratic society which is experiencing a rapid rate of change needs not only a work-force which is capable of coping with the Society's altering requirements for skills. It needs also a community which fosters a diversity of talent, which cultivates constructively critical approaches to what is happening within it, and which promotes open-minded, not empty-minded, attitudes among its members with a high degree of mutual tolerance.

The democratic system is one which relies relatively little on coercive power to sustain itself. It nourishes and responds to very widely diverse attitudes, opinions, talents and interests among its people. Education has an important part to play in ensuring the continuance of the conditions in which it is possible for democratic life to flourish.

I would put it to you, therefore, that the quality of the education system in a democratic society can be judged on five general inter-related criteria. It should seek to be *responsive, diverse, non-dogmatic, universal* and *efficient*.

Its responsiveness can be gauged in terms of the strength of its links with its community, and in terms of the leadership it gives in preparation for meeting future needs.

Its diversity can be seen in terms of the range of teaching methods and curricula offered at all levels and to students of all abilities.

Its non-dogmatic nature can be observed in terms of the extent to which it encourages those who study within it to adopt critical and discriminating attitudes, both about what they study and about the system itself.

Its universality can be measured in terms of the ease with which students of all ages can take advantage of its services.

Its efficiency can be assessed in terms of the extent to which it disposes its resources in ways which reach towards these other objectives, and the extent to which it generates continuing political support for its efforts by meeting existing expectations.

May I emphasise one aspect of both responsiveness and lack of dogma which I think is very important in a democratic society. I can best illustrate the point by quoting a passage from Aneurin Bevan, the English Socialist leader. He wrote:

> "When I complain about our secondary schools imitating our public schools it is because they have a different task to perform . . . In order to be on terms of equality with the product of the public schools they must be trained differently. They are already too much inclined to obedience. What we want from them is more arrogance, freedom from the trammels of tradition. These boys and girls are to be asked to wield the royal sceptre; we must therefore give them the souls of kings and queens. Otherwise it may be said of us that we took the ordinary man from the shadows of history and set him in the fierce light that beats upon thrones and he was blinded and ran away."[1]

"Arrogance" is not quite the word I would want to use to describe the quality Aneurin Bevan sought to promote. Certainly, it involves more than the encouragement of a critical and discriminating attitude. Perhaps, it can best be described as a suitable combination of confidence, irreverence and healthy scepticism. However it is described it is an essential attitude for any democracy which aims to avoid the demagoguery and deception of certain leaders in whatever sphere those leaders may be.

The political economy of educational advancement, then, is concerned with the political decisions which affect education, and in particular with the decisions which relate the efficiency of the system to its other qualitative aims.

In a representative democracy such as Australia the central role of government is to make decisions about allocations of the community's resources.

There are people who would argue that the proper role of government is limited to setting out rules which will keep the peace without intervening otherwise in the free play of market forces. Particularly in a modern, affluent, industrialised society such an attitude is completely untenable. In practice, the modern government which seeks to operate in this way collaborates in the distribution of wealth by accident and exploitation, and neglects the likelihood of long-term social damage which results from preoccupation with individual profit.

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[1]Foot, M. M.: *Aneurin Bevan: a Biography*, Vol. 1, 1897-1945. London, McGibbon and Kee, 1962, p. 140.

Governments are the only agencies which can act for the community as a whole. They have a clear responsibility to provide leadership in the investment the nation makes in its future as well as in providing immediate services which are beyond the scope of the market to provide.

In Australia, as elsewhere, privately mobilised resources were insufficient to meet the demands of universal elementary education earlier in this century. They are not enough to meet the needs of universal opportunity for higher levels of education today. The history of education's development demonstrates beyond any doubt that public finance on a massive scale is essential if full educational opportunity is to be extended to all.

Fundamental, therefore, to the relationship between politics and education is the question of resources: of how much of the national cake is and should be devoted to the formal education of members of our community.

I have said that educational advancement does not follow automatically from improvements in standards of physical provision. Some people would argue that the qualitative objectives I have outlined bear no relation to the physical resources of buildings, staff and equipment that are made available to our schools, colleges and universities. I am not among them. Although adequate physical resources will not of themselves achieve the kind of educational advancement I have described, they are a necessary condition for quality education in the modern world.

To put it crudely, unless our places of education reflect the kind of technological affluence that is to be found in the community at large they will not be in a position to reflect in their activities the wider life of that community.

Political decisions about allocation of resources are not taken in a vacuum. A critical factor in this relationship between politics and education is the political climate within which decisions about resources are reached.

Representative government rests generally on the acceptability of its decisions to a sufficient proportion of the population. Initiative for these decisions comes from a number of sources, important among them being groups of people with common interests. The role of the politician is essentially one of interpretation and leadership. As Galbraith puts it:

> "The gifted statesman waits until the parade is about to pass his door. Then he grabs the baton and marches out ahead."[2]

He may and probably will have been concerned to help generate the parade. Certainly the leadership role of the democratic politician involves seeking to influence public opinion in order that the decisions he believes appropriate can be made. The point is that democratic political leaders can only take decisions that are acceptable, and that this can produce a strong inhibiting effect on the voting of funds for education unless there is evidence of public support for it.

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[2]Galbraith, J. K.: *Economics, Peace and Laughter, a Contemporary Guide*. Penguin, 1975, p. 226.

Recent political history in Australia demonstrates the importance of a strong and continuing lobby to sustain public expenditure on education. Prior to the 1972 Federal election feeling was running high in the education constituency, especially among parents and teachers, about the wide variations in the standard of education offered in Australian schools. The political climate of support for additional resources for all sectors of education was strong. There followed the establishment of the Schools Commission, the setting out of target standards for schools, and the start of a massive programme of additional expenditure. Then, it appeared, everyone went home well-satisfied. Almost immediately Australia began to experience an unusually and uncomfortably high rate of inflation. The promising beginning that had been made was not followed through. Adoption of the triennial programme needed to pursue the targets was postponed in the 1975/76 budget in favour of decisions which it was hoped would reduce the inflation rate. Those decisions were greeted tamely, almost without complaint, by the very groups whose insistence had made the earlier commitment to improvement possible.

Inflation is a major enemy of educational advancement, for two reasons. It eats into the real value of additional funds that are voted, and thereby reduces the effort that can be put into improvement. And it distracts public attention from the needs of education as a political issue, concentrating it instead on more readily recognised economic issues.

Table 1, showing capital expenditure on primary, secondary and further education in South Australia since 1969/70, and the relevant building cost index, demonstrates the disastrous impact of inflation in building costs on the real effort we have been able to put into raising the standard of inadequate school or technical college buildings.

TABLE 1

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES: SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1969/70 TO 1975/76

Year	Building Cost Index[3]	Total Gross Primary, Secondary and Further Education[1]		Commonwealth Contribution		State Contribution		Index of Expenditure at 1969/70 Prices	
		Actual	At 1969/70 Prices	Actual	At 1969/70 Prices	Actual	At 1969/70 Prices	Total	State
1969/70	100	12.136	12.136	1.094	1.094	11.042	11.042	100	100
1970/71	103	16.347	15.871	2.158	2.158	14.124	13.713	131	124
1971/72	119	19.933	16.750	2.562	2.562	26.884	14.188	138	128
1972/73	130	27.144	20.880	4.026	3.118	23.090	17.762	172	161
1973/74	153	30.717	20.076	9.246	6.471	20.841	13.622	165	123
1974/75	191	46.051	24.110	19.789	10.262	26.451	13.849	199	125
1975/76[2]	231	48.000	20.779	14.000	6.061	34.000	14.719	171	133

Source for expenditure figures: S.A. Loan Estimates.

[1]Includes capital expenditure for primary and secondary schools and further education institutions.

[2]Expenditure figures for 1975/76 are estimated.

[3]Building cost index figures are taken at January for each financial year. The index is prepared internally by the S.A. Public Buildings Department from key materials and labour costs specifically related to their operations.

The major part of the school building programme is taken up with providing new schools in areas of expanding population. This was particularly

the case during the post war years of rapid expansion in school numbers. Even when the total school-going population is not growing to any appreciable extent shifting populations within each education system create this need, for school buildings are not normally like meccano and cannot be taken away for re-use elsewhere when their immediate population declines. This means that the funds available for replacement of existing inadequate accommodation are always limited to some extent. While the reduced rate of growth of student numbers has enabled a much greater emphasis on replacement, it is conceivable that replacement may decline to a minimal figure under the pressure of inflation.

After the long campaign to engage the Federal Government in financial assistance for Australian schools the expectation was created, by the constitution of the Schools Commission, that government schools and the poorer independent schools would be able to reach reasonable standards of provision within the foreseeable future. With the rate of growth in school numbers lower than the rate of growth of general population the impact of the agreement on the part of the States to maintain the share of State budgets and loan money going to education meant that State money on its own should have permitted some small degree of improvement, with Schools Commission funding becoming the means of securing some substantial improvement.

What occurred with the 1975/76 budget as a result of the high rate of inflation, and what has occurred since then, suggests that the expected improvement will not eventuate in anything like the time anticipated.

The time has long since passed, if indeed it ever existed when prominent educators could avert their gaze in distaste from the rough and tumble associated with the active world of politics. Every citizen who is informed about the problems and potential of our education system shares responsibility for its future. That responsibility can only be discharged if we ensure that continuing public debate is intelligently conducted about the quantity and quality of the resources we use in our educational institutions, and if the immediate and long term educational needs of the community are kept constantly in the public view.

I have suggested that for continued educational advancement a strong and sustained political lobby is necessary. It is also true that a strong and sustained case for political support for education depends to a significant extent on people being able to see improvements resulting from additional expenditure.

During periods when school enrolments are rising this is less important. The need is plainly quantitative. More students need more schools, colleges and universities, and more teachers to staff them.

However, when increased expenditure is intended for improvement in quality rather than expansion in quantity of educational services a more sophisticated approach is required. There are several problems involved in this.

In all aspects of political economy people's expectations are a central factor. Education is no exception. One of the problems facing education at

the present time is the different expectations that are held of the education system by different sections of the community. While many professional educators are concerned primarily with the qualitative, less measurable, aspects of their work, the community generally tends to base its expectations on more easily seen quantitative matters. Educational advancement in the public mind tends to focus on such questions as size of classes, the standard of buildings provided for educational purposes, and the extent to which students emerge with skills which employers find valuable.

The need for political accounting for increased education funds means, especially in time of stable student population, that there is need for hard-headed decision-making at all levels to undertake projects for which there will be something to show. Professional educators responsible for putting additional resources to use have to recognise the quantitative nature of public expectations and have to be prepared to produce hard evidence of improvement occurring. I have already emphasised that progress towards qualitative educational goals is not easily measured, but it cannot be beyond the powers of our educators to produce evidence, for example, of improved skills resulting from programmes directed at raising standards of communication, or of enriched community life resulting from community educational programmes. Only if this kind of approach is adopted may a continuing political climate of support be sustained which will permit ongoing improvement towards qualitative goals.

Traditionally, in a representative system, political accountability is discharged by Ministers who are responsible to Parliament for the functioning of the departments of government. For historical reasons in Australia public education at the school level developed with highly centralised control exercised through Education Departments in each State. This centralised system has always had the advantage in Australia of ensuring that available resources were spread more or less equally over the population, although at the State level there has been little evidence of positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups. However, it poses real problems for the pursuit of diversity and responsiveness in schools. Centralised administration carries with it pressure for uniformity in educational practice which militates against those qualities, whereas a significant degree of administrative autonomy at the local level is needed for development to occur in response to local needs.

The pragmatic answer to this dilemma is to regionalise much of the basic administration and to delegate to schools as much decision-making about their activities and programmes as can effectively be undertaken at that level. Responsibility for disposition of the resources allocated to a school can in the main rest with the school administration itself, while responsibility for allocation and use of resources throughout the system remains at the centre or under policy guidelines with the regions.

These arrangements work reasonably well when the operations of the schools are sufficiently in accord with the expectations of their communities and when they carry local support with them in introducing changes. They work less well when expectations and performance diverge to too marked an extent.

I want now to set out some more detailed illustrations of the impact which decisions in political economy can have on the efficiency with which educational resources are disposed towards qualitative goals.

It is important to recognise that the amount of room for manoeuvre within education budgets year by year is very small. Normally, even when all additional funds do not have to be devoted to catering for additional numbers of students, the proportion of the annual budget which is available at any one time to direct towards educational advancement is very small indeed.

It is, therefore, tremendously important to ensure that funds available are used to the best advantage. And it is equally important, in times of economic pressure particularly, to resist decisions which would impair our existing capacity to move towards the qualitative goals.

A significant proportion of State education budgets is taken up by payments to students and parents, for example in student allowances, travelling allowances, payments for books and for stationery. In addition, there are direct costs in the provision of certain services, which are basically social services rather than educational, of which bus transport in country areas is the best example. Mostly these payments and services are related to the criterion of universality, although to some extent they arise from the view that educational and related services should be paid for out of taxation and not directly charged for by means of fee collection.

The normal Treasury arrangements for financing Education Departments are such that the greater the financial provision under the above headings the less that there is available for employment of teachers and ancillary staff and the other direct running costs of schools. It becomes very important, therefore, to ensure that these payments and services are organised efficiently, and if possible in ways which avoid excessive generosity. The efficiency in the operation of school bus arrangements in country areas is a critical factor in any education budget. For similar reasons it is helpful to develop a system of student travel concessions in urban areas overlapping the tertiary sector which is organised through the public transport system and without impact on the education budget.

A further item of particular importance is the arrangement made for books and stationery. If allowances to parents have to cover the full cost of a set of new text books each year for all students the cost will be very much greater than necessary. In South Australia we had an interesting experience with text books that is instructive. Traditionally, book allowances were paid directly to all parents to contribute towards the cost of purchasing text books, and most students used new books each year. By 1970 there was considerable public pressure for the provision of free text books and materials, a pressure which if accepted fully would have made significant inroads into the education budget. Bulk purchase and free provision of text books for primary schools had been introduced in the mid-sixties. For the 1972 school year a book loan scheme was introduced into secondary schools whereby parents agreed to make over to the school the book allowance and the school provided the necessary books on loan with a deposit of $10 repayable at the end of the year in return of the books in reasonable condition.

The initial year of the scheme for any school was difficult because of a liquidity problem induced by a very large percentage of the initial book stock owned by the school being new books. However, the economic virtue of the scheme can be seen by recognising that $30 per annum would finance a book collection of $60 if books lasted on average for two years, or more than $60 if the average life were longer than two years. Furthermore, advantage could be gained in certain subject areas in the use of class sets which in one year would be used by more than one class. The latter is particularly relevant in relation to English texts.

The scheme was introduced with considerable opposition from within the department, the schools and needless to say the book trade. In time the opposition has almost disappeared because the scheme works. Indeed profits from it enabled schools to varying degrees to cover materials costs and even a proportion of stationery costs. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the scheme in reducing costs to parents has enabled South Australia to avoid the kind of promises that both major parties made in the 1976 Victorian election — promises which, on any reckoning, must carry a considerable budgetary cost.

One additional aspect of the scheme is worth a mention. For years in South Australia there had been complaints that books owned by a student could not be transferred to other students subsequently, or transferred to another school if the student changed schools, because of the widespread changing by teachers of prescribed text books. Considerable demands developed for the department to lay down uniform rules as to the use of text books. The book loan scheme solved that problem because parents were not left with unusable books. Some limitation probably occurred on the freedom with which teachers could prescribe new text books, as excessive change of titles in a school in any one year would render the scheme unprofitable. However, so long as the allowance is maintained in a reasonable relationship with the cost of books the scheme can work effectively without any undue restrictions on proper educational decisions by teachers.

A similar improvement was introduced in the provision of stationery. In South Australia in 1970 primary schools could obtain stationery supplies through the State Supply Department and gain the advantage of bulk purchase. However, by Cabinet direction secondary schools had to obtain supplies from private sources. The consequence of this absurd dichotomy was much higher charges for stationery items purchased through secondary schools. The reversal of the Cabinet decision meant lower charges and less public pressure for increased allowances for books and materials.

In any education system there is always considerable room for improvement in decision-making on these matters. For example, the increased use of write-in work-books and text books which can be used for only one year is particularly annoying and expensive. Where the books concerned are produced with little attention to cost, the practice takes on all the appearance of a racket — a device to expand sales by building into the product accelerated depreciation. If write-in work-books are of assistance educationally, and if private sources will not produce them economically, then education departments have a responsibility to ensure that they are produced through appropriate governmental arrangements. I believe we all have something to learn from

the Western Australian experience in this respect. Once again, the object must be to reduce the cost to parents as a means of offsetting excessive political pressure for increased allowances without impinging adversely on the way the teacher operates.

The problem of ensuring a regular and adequate supply of teachers for schools has always been a preoccupation of Australian Education Departments. The device of the bonded scholarship has been used for many decades throughout the country in attempts to assure recruitment of teachers trained to an acceptable standard.

The period following World War II saw dramatic increases in school enrolments in Australia, increases which created formidable problems for Education Departments in finding enough teachers and enough classrooms. In South Australia, for example, between 1946 and 1960, primary and secondary school enrolments together rose by 135%. In comparison with 1946, by 1970 the number of primary students had more than doubled and there had been a five-fold increase in secondary students.

Throughout that quarter century the teacher supply/demand equation had been weighted heavily on the demand side. To the extent that pupil/teacher ratios had been maintained or improved this was done largely through the employment of unqualified or less than fully qualified teachers. During all those post-war years Australia as a whole was never in a position other than one of teacher shortage.

Because the recruitment and training of student teachers had always been seen as the surest long term solution to the teacher supply problem, the increase in the school population was followed by expansion in the number of student teachers and a corresponding increase in the amount of resources devoted to maintaining teacher training institutions and paying allowances to student teachers.

A detailed statistical exercise is involved in forecasting teacher demand and comparing it with projections of the likely supply. The various factors governing teacher demand include the rate at which teachers resign, the rate of growth of school enrolments, and target pupil/teacher ratios. The teacher supply situation is governed by the number of new teachers emerging from training institutions, the availability of teachers previously trained and seeking re-employment, the availability of teachers from interstate or overseas, the availability of teachers who are over the regular retiring age, and the availability of teachers who are unqualified or not fully qualified.

A number of assumptions have to be made for the statistical exercise to be undertaken.

The rate at which teachers resign is significantly affected by the overall employment climate, and the extent to which alternative employment can be found. Salary levels in other possible jobs and working conditions and morale within the schools have some part to play in this, especially during periods of low general unemployment. The other major factor affecting the resignation rate is the high proportion of women in the teaching service, since many younger teachers resign to accompany their husbands interstate or overseas,

or to raise families. The increased extent to which women want to work after marriage, with or without children, creates some additional uncertainty in these predictions. This factor is also important in the teacher supply situation.

The rate of growth of school enrolments is primarily determined by the birth rate, of which until recent times, a relatively assured long term assessment could be made. Less certain factors, which are also significant, are the rate at which students stay at school beyond the compulsory leaving age and the extent to which student numbers are affected by migration. Both of these can be subject to short term fluctuations of some magnitude. In years of fewer employment opportunities many secondary students who would otherwise have found jobs may return to schools, and migrating families bring ready-made school children.

During the past few years it has been exceedingly difficult to predict future trends in the teacher supply and demand situation with any degree of accuracy, because all the basic factors in the overall assessment have been subject to substantial change.

As an Appendix to this paper I have prepared several tables showing the South Australian school enrolment projections, estimates of total and new teachers required, and estimates of the proportion of new teachers likely to be available from sponsored students.

The figures demonstrate that very substantial variations have occurred from year to year during the first half of this decade, as the predictions have been altered in response to changing conditions and the effects of changes in policy.

A central factor in the teacher supply situation is the rate at which previously trained teachers present for re-employment each year. This factor is the one which is likely to aggravate the emerging teacher surplus most, and the one which is most difficult to estimate. Certainly in most States re-employment of previously employed teachers has been increasing significantly.

It is likely that at present approximately 30% of teachers taken on in most State education systems in any one year fall into this category. That means that in the unlikely event of no extra teachers from interstate or overseas offering their services trainee teachers should provide 70% of the teachers required in any one year. Had our teacher training plans been finely tuned to requirements, when interstate and overseas movements are allowed for, it is probable that it would now be adequate to have 60% of our annual teacher requirements coming from the tertiary institutions. If all teachers offering from other sources were employed, and the resignation rate dropped, e.g. from 15% to 12%, that would reduce the number of new teachers required from tertiary institutions still further, and in much the same proportions as the drop in the resignation rate. A State budgetary disaster imposed by the Commonwealth would have similar effects.

Normally, however, for political reasons, a State will commit itself to providing employment for all its sponsored student teachers. In the result the teacher surplus shows up in some of those offering for re-employment and/or some of those available from interstate or overseas becoming unemployed teachers.

The other important feature of the present projections for teacher supply and demand is the extent to which they also indicate the developing capacity to improve pupil/teacher ratios which would permit class sizes to be reduced and teaching conditions improved.

We are all aware, I think, of the massive unemployment in the teaching profession in North America in recent years — a situation which in the early seventies allowed most Australian States to alleviate their own teacher shortage. It is my view that the same type of situation is clearly developing in Australia. If the Schools Commission is not supported to an adequate extent there is every indication that we will see massive unemployment of teachers. At the very time that we first have the capacity to overcome fully the problems created by teacher shortage that have plagued us for 30 years, it may well be that a combination of lack of will and adherence to the economic mythology of the 1930's will translate that capacity into unemployed teachers instead of improvement within schools.

These changes in the teacher supply and demand situation have shifted the problem from a shortage of teachers available for employment to a potentially acute shortage of funds to employ teachers who are, or soon will be, available. This issue relates to the general question of the political economy of education, that of the extent of resources to be devoted to the operation of the education system. I shall return to this general relationship shortly.

The changes also have important implications for resource use within State education systems.

In South Australia by the early nineteen-seventies, it was apparent that demographic and other changes were taking place which were altering the teacher supply and demand situation quite dramatically. The birth rate was declining and the immigration rate was running, with fluctuations, at a much lower level than previously. At the same time, the long term impact of much earlier increases in the teacher training programme was showing up in the increasing numbers of teachers seeking to return to schools after a period out of the service. It was also clear that the elimination of the teacher shortage, once it occurred, would reinforce itself through a reduction in the rate of resignations. Although it was at first difficult to believe it seemed clear that the worst of the teacher shortage would soon be behind us, and we had to reconsider very seriously the extent of resources used in the recruitment and training of teachers.

In 1971 I was able to recommend to Cabinet that no increase in the number of bonded scholarships should be made for the following year, and in 1972 we were in a position to offer unbonded scholarships, at a lower level of allowance, as an alternative to students entering teacher preparation courses in teachers' colleges. The following year the Australian Government gave notice of its intention to introduce its tertiary allowances, and this enabled South Australia to commence the phasing out of the bond, other than the one year bond for post-graduate diploma students. In order to ensure a continued supply of high standard entrants to internal teacher education courses at the Colleges of Advanced Education it was decided to continue with unbonded scholarships for students undertaking those courses. The amount of the

unbonded scholarship was struck at a level which did not disqualify its holder from the Commonwealth tertiary allowance. Table 2 illustrates the consequence of these decisions. In 1975/76 the payments to student teachers in South Australia represented 5.8% of total Australian State payments as against 10½% in 1970/71 and 1971/72. If the bonding system had been continued unchanged the South Australian payments in 1975/76 would have been approximately $10.5 million. This meant, in effect, an additional $5 million was available for other educational purposes, because of the South Australian Government's commitment to maintain the share of State revenue provided for education. It is clear from the figures provided in Table 2 that Victoria and Western Australia are moving in a similar direction.

TABLE 2

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT PAYMENTS TO STUDENT TEACHERS

Year	N.S.W. $'000	Vic. $'000	Q'ld $'000	W.A. $'000	Tas. $'000	S.A. $'000	Total $'000	S.A. as Percentage of Total
1970/71	12.217	18.490	3.998	3.641	1.690	4.720	44.756	10.5
1971/72	17.601	21.322	5.375	4.334	2.037	6.021	56.690	10.6
1972/73	21.711	26.998	6.542	5.466	2.271	6.263	69.247	9.0
1973/74	24.826	31.212	7.471	5.168	2.645	6.303	77.625	8.1
1974/75	26.916	33.561	9.840	5.419	3.343	6.559	85.638	7.7
1975/76*	35.132	32.295	11.687	n/a	4.850	5.534	n/a	5.8*

Source: State Education Departments.

*Estimated. n/a — not available.

I emphasise that decisions of this nature, which free significant financial resources for use elsewhere, are absolutely fundamental in achieving the necessary conditions for educational advancement.

The consequences of the emerging teacher surplus also have very serious implications for any institution which is substantially involved in the preparation of teachers. It underlines the inadequacy of policies which led to the establishment of mono-purpose colleges, particularly those associated only with teacher training.

The influence of the Commonwealth Wark Committee and later the Commission on Advanced Education in moving Colleges of Advanced Education to a multi-purpose form was tremendously significant and in the early seventies was only ignored by the States at their peril. For example, the introduction of journalism at the Murray Park College of Advanced Education in South Australia permitted a greater degree of flexibility in the use of the College's lecturing staff than would have been the case if that College had remained a mono-purpose institution.

The general problem of excess capacity among lecturers teaching courses where numbers are declining afflicts all tertiary institutions to varying extents. Our tertiary lecturers are even less malleable and convertible to other uses than are our buildings. The story of the Professor of Latin at Adelaide University taking a class of one student in a tutorial and following up immediately with a lecture in full academic regalia to the same student would be highly amusing were it not for the inordinate waste of resources that is involved. University Latin departments have been successful to some extent in offsetting

prospective staff redundancies by establishing courses in classical studies. Such changes are a necessary response to a very serious problem, because the financing of tertiary institutions tends to take place on a fairly strict basis of staff/student ratios and little account is taken (and even then only after great argument) of the problems created by changes in the distribution of students among subject disciplines.

The need to press ahead with multi-purpose developments in Colleges of Advanced Education has never been more apparent than at the present, particularly because the adjustment in the teacher training programmes has only just begun to take place.

A further major obstacle to rational resource use in our whole post-secondary education sector at present is its fragmentation.

The definition of bailiwicks among further or technical education, advanced education and universities encourages preoccupation with status among our post-secondary institutions rather than co-operative endeavour. Furthermore, it leads to a major misallocation of resources in that flexibility of movement from one institution to another is inhibited and many first and second year courses are duplicated unnecessarily in separate institutions. Real diversity in education is to be prized. Excessive differentiation of the product is a sinful predilection which economists recognise more frequently in the business community than in relation to their own, or their colleagues', academic endeavours. It is a promotional gambit of tertiary institutions which the community cannot afford to indulge.

As the rate of growth of the age cohort from whom post-secondary students are drawn continues to decline more competition for students will arise among the various post-school institutions. In circumstances of uninhibited expansion the irrationalities of the existing arrangements are less apparent. Once the emphasis switches to qualitative improvement, however, some absurdities emerge.

These relate generally to entry requirements and to cross-crediting of courses among the various institutions.

If we are to make the greatest possible use of resources for post-school education then we must provide readier access not only for students who do well in the traditional assessment conditions of public examinations but also for earlier school leavers who can produce other evidence of their ability to take advantage of further study. Similarly the post-secondary institutions need to adopt a more flexible attitude towards crediting students with courses successfully undertaken at institutions other than their own. In circumstances of stable population there can be no justification in educational or economic terms for duplication of facilities for similar studies in every post-secondary institution. There is no reason why it should not be possible, for example, for a language student to take advantage of different courses offering in more than one tertiary institution and be allowed credit for them towards an award in the college or university in which the major part of his or her studies is undertaken.

In addition, the rational development of tertiary education in country centres demands a much more flexible approach than has been adopted in the past.

The concept of the Community College as it has developed in British Columbia may have much to offer for Australian education. There the vast majority of students who undertake post-secondary education do so in Community Colleges with combined course offerings at certificate, diploma and degree level, and a later possible transfer to an institution similar to a College of Advanced Education or a University. This arrangement permits a wider range of course offerings for 1st and 2nd year students as well as a more rational disposition of the resources needed for them, than can presently be achieved in Australia.

At present, the separation of funding arrangements for post-secondary institutions through three separate commissions tends to promote rather than discourage the unsatisfactory aspects of fragmentation that I have outlined.

The amalgamation of those three commissions in a single commission for tertiary education is essential to ensure the effective co-ordination of developments in all of the further and technical, advanced education and university sectors.

In considering the future of tertiary education it is also worth noting that until recently, access to tertiary education was not necessarily available to those who gained entry on academic grounds. Prior to 1974 tuition fees were an integral part of the financial arrangements for universities and colleges of advanced education, and they presented a real hurdle for would-be students from low-income families. In addition, living allowances were only available to students who held Commonwealth or other scholarships. The abolition of tuition fees and the introduction of means-tested living allowances for all students who gained entry to tertiary education were, therefore, major moves towards improving universality in the tertiary sector because they markedly improved access for lower income students.

Although the allowances are not large they do mean that low-income families do not have to undertake the full burden of maintaining students while they are doing courses. Importantly, they demonstrate a commitment on the part of the community to the value of tertiary education for all who might benefit from it.

It has recently been suggested that the allowance scheme should be replaced with loans for students, providing them with allowances during their student days which would be repayable when they were earning. Any such change could have very serious consequences for the policy objective of the allowances, that is, progress towards universality of access to tertiary education. It is true that the successful student who completes a course of tertiary education gains entry to occupations which are in general significantly better paid than others. I would emphasise that this is only true for the successful student who does complete a formal qualification.

A situation in which a student entering tertiary studies immediately took on loan obligations would operate against the low-income student who failed or dropped out. Such a situation would inevitably create a powerful disincentive for low-income students, discouraging them from thinking in terms of undertaking the challenge of tertiary courses.

Requiring students who fail courses to repay the cost of their allowances may appear to be a fair arrangement at first glance. However, the long term damage if loans are to be repaid by other than successful students will far outweigh the relatively small financial return of implementing such a policy. It should be noted that this would be a relatively small financial return. The major costs of tertiary education occur in the running expenses of tertiary institutions, not in the amount of living allowances paid to students. Any loan scheme that is introduced must engage only successful students in repayment from future earnings if the whole improvement made in recent times is not to be lost. Politically the distinction between the successful and the unsuccessful student would be very difficult to make and once made would be widely unacceptable.

These various illustrations of decisions in political economy as they affect education have been concerned either with allocation of resources within the education system or with specific instances of the allocation of resources to education. I turn now to the general question of how provision of resources for education is related to the political economy of the nation.

I have already suggested that inflation is a major enemy of educational advancement because of its impact on the real effort that results from additional funds and because inflation distracts attention from the needs of education.

In a less direct sense the danger from inflation to the kind of educational advancement I am advocating may be very serious indeed. An education system with the goals I have outlined is one which flourishes in and contributes to a stable democratic environment. The inflationary process in the way it has come about however, tends to render the democratic environment unstable. Unhappily the precedent set by the political events of 1975 may in fact reinforce that instability.

The issue of inflation is fundamental to the whole question of the ability of governments to provide resources for any area of government activity, including education. There are serious constitutional limitations to effective economic policy-making by any Australian government. While the electorate holds that government responsible for our economic ills it refuses to give that government the power to solve those problems. Furthermore, while most sections of our community are in favour of wage and salary restraint the approbation seems to be limited to restraint for groups other than one's own. There is nothing like a loss of relativity in promoting militancy among even the most conservative salary groups. As a consequence, any attempt to secure voluntary wage and salary restraint is doomed to failure.

It is, therefore, an open question as to whether any Australian government can control inflation under the powers available to it without creating

massive unemployment. The dilemma facing governments is whether to take action which results in unacceptable levels of unemployment or whether to try to live with a hopefully "acceptable" level of inflation. If unemployment is seen as the lesser evil then there will be substantial cuts in government expenditure, including expenditure through the Schools Commission. If inflation continues then any increase in funding will be taken up in increased costs without improvement. In either case, education loses its prospects for advancement. Furthermore, an "acceptable" level of inflation today is likely to be unacceptable tomorrow, because expectations of continued price rises lead to behaviour which reinforces the rate of price increase.

The causes of either demand inflation or cost inflation are basically fairly straightforward. Either demand in the economy outstrips the goods produced or, as we have seen more recently, rising wage and salary rates cannot be made effective in real terms and therefore result in rising prices, which, in turn, lead to further wage and salary demands. When real growth in the economy is insufficient to meet expectations created by money wage and salary increases, inflation results.

Educational advancement in the sense in which I have discussed it requires a greater share of national resources to be devoted to education. In circumstances where real growth in the economy is inadequate to meet these needs reallocation of resources at present available in the public sector is minimal, because of the community's reliance on continued government commitment in its existing areas of activity. The reallocation of resources towards additional expenditure on education therefore must come from resources which are at present consumed in the private sector. This means that a commitment to educational advancement must also carry with it a commitment to some transfer of resources from the private to the public sector. Unless this is clearly understood, appeals for extra funds for education, if responded to, will simply contribute to the existing inflationary pressures and all that they imply for political and economic instability.

The suggestion of any switch of resources to the public sector is contrary to the popular mythology peddled by many political leaders, nearly all the pressure groups, and virtually the entire media. The economy is said to be one of the most highly taxed in the western world — a falsehood that has been propagated for many years. The economy is said to be desperate for tax cuts and tax indexation — a rationalisation for the fact that most Australians are more concerned with today's living standards than with the difficulties of the next generation. We are told, in terms of the conventional wisdom, that tax indexation is necessary in order to control inflation, when anyone who thinks about it knows that wage and salary demands will not be moderated voluntarily and that tax indexation is in reality a means of stimulating private expenditure at the expense of public. Furthermore, under the so-called new Federalism tax indexation will be a means of reducing the funds available to the Australian Government for purposes such as education, and reducing the automatic reimbursement grants to the States. For future financial years the greater the degree of tax indexation, the greater the reduction in reimbursement to the States and the greater the pressure on the States to add a percentage to the Federal income tax.

If tax indexation by the Commonwealth results in the substitution of State income taxes it will certainly be a smart political move in transferring political pressure onto the States However, it will not provide much joy to the taxpayer. Additionally, if at the Commonwealth level tax indexation is accompanied by increases in indirect taxes as a means of maintaining Commonwealth expenditures, the tax system will become significantly less progressive, and the joy such as it is will be confined to those on higher incomes.

The new Federalism combined with tax indexation may well become one of the greatest frauds perpetrated on a public ever willing to elect political leaders who suggest that new policies will make them better off. Why, I would be confident that the majority of citizens would be in favour of both tax indexation and an increased government commitment to education. Indeed, as the realisation that political leaders do not succeed in improving standards of government service and in reducing taxes effectively becomes general, it is unlikely that the education community or the wider public will reach a more realistic appraisal of what is achievable. It is far more likely that an increasing disenchantment with the political system will follow. And in that lies the greatest danger to educational advancement and the achievement of the criteria I set out earlier for an educational system of the highest standard. For unless there is, in our community, a greater realisation of what can be done by governments and what cannot, there is a grave danger that the democratic system as we know it will break down.

If the national syndrome of wanting one's cake and eating it too becomes an endemic disease the community as a whole will become less rational politically and at some stage more willing to listen to and support the kind of political extremist of which the world in the twentieth century provides so many notable examples. It is quite likely that a dictatorial regime would promote efficiency in education, and it is possible that it would also promote universality. It is highly unlikely that it would tolerate an education system that was responsive, diverse or non-dogmatic. Those are the very qualities which in the State education systems have received the greatest boost in recent years, and those are the ones most threatened by the current political situation.

The issue, then, is not just one of ensuring political support for education, but of ensuring that the political support also holds for the necessary switch of resources to the public sector. And the issue is not just one of securing educational advancement, but of maintaining the degree of quality we now have in our education services.

The backlash against education is now flowing quite strongly throughout Australia. It was inevitable, after the great break-through achieved in the establishment of the Schools Commission and in the acceptance of its initial recommendations, that there would be a backlash. After the 1975 budget, with its failure to adopt the new 1976-78 triennial proposals, 1976 under the Fraser Government became the critical year. The further failure to achieve a triennial programme which represented a significant movement towards the initial targets set by the Schools Commission, must have serious consequences for educational advancement as does the adoption of a similar approach for education in the post-school sector.

All the evidence suggests that this decade will in future times be seen as a crucial decade in the development of Australian education. The consequences of decisions taken during these years will be with us for very many years to come.

The Report of the Karmel Enquiry into Education in South Australia said:

> "No educational system stands apart from the society which establishes it. It has purposes that must be achieved if that society is to continue. It is embedded in that society, drawing nourishment from it and in turn contributing to its opportunities for growth and renewal. The establishment of the purposes of its educational institutions, and a constant vigil over both their relevance and their realisation, ought to be one of the major continuing activities of a society concerned with the present well-being of all its members and with its own steady improvement."[3]

A society which is willing to nourish its education system so that the qualities of responsiveness, diversity, lack of dogma, universality and efficiency are strongly encouraged, will itself be strengthened for the future. On the other hand, a society which restricts the responsiveness of educational institutions to changing conditions and suffocates diversity, which creates pressures against educational innovation, and retreats from universality, will assist those forces which are opposed to the pursuit of educational advancement in the sense I have used the term. If the selfish materialism which is inherent in us all is allowed to dominate the process of political decision-making we may well let loose forces which in the long term are entirely destructive not just of educational advancement but also of the democratic fabric of society itself.

As a group we are not strong enough to determine the decisions that are made, but we can influence them, and we have a fundamental responsibility so to do.

Short term pursuit of political popularity coupled with an emotional exploitation of uninformed prejudice and ignorance on basic economic questions is not only damaging to the fabric of our society, but entirely destructive of the prospects of future generations of Australians and it is the kind of destruction of which there are many current potential, or actual, examples.

Men can walk on the moon, but bombs can obliterate whole nations in a single hit. Grain yields can rise dramatically, but millions starve. We know within minutes of catastrophes on the other side of the world, but first aid gets hopelessly held up by frontiers. Concorde can fly from Sydney to London in a matter of hours, but energy crises create massive economic dislocations in a matter of days. Australia is a rich country, but many Australians are still poor to the point of indignity.

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[3]Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia. Chairman: Dr. P. Karmel. *Education in South Australia: Report*. Adelaide Govt. Printer, 1971.

We cannot predict with any certainty what kind of life styles the teenagers of today will have as adults, much less those ahead of infants.

In these circumstances we cannot afford not to invest in education if our present generation and those which succeed it are to confront with confidence the immense political, social, economic and technological challenges of the post-industrial democratic society. In making that investment we cannot afford not to make every effort to improve the quality of our educational services.

The decisions that were taken in our name in 1976 will have consequences that will extend, for good or ill, well beyond our lifetimes. We cannot determine the future, but we can seek to create conditions which may hopefully foster those human attributes which we find valuable and so preserve them and a kind of civilisation for our children.

APPENDIX

The following tables illustrate the difficulties experienced in predicting future requirements for teachers, and the percentage of teachers likely to be available from Colleges to meet those requirements.

The early nineteen-seventies were particularly difficult periods in which to predict because of changing birth and migration rates. As a consequence the predictions of future enrolments were subject to successive revisions. The same period also witnessed improvements in target teacher/pupil ratios, and in 1974 and 1975 a falling resignation rate, so that estimates of new teachers required for future years were subject to substantial further variation.

It is clear that any attempt to adjust enrolments in teacher training courses to meet predicted requirements in four or five years' time would be impracticable. Obviously re-employment, and migration of teachers from interstate and overseas, are important sources available to meet part of new teacher requirements. It is not even possible to predict accurately the percentage of new teachers required that is appropriate to be met from College sources.

In practice, we can only hope to adjust teacher training numbers in line with predicted trends in requirements, and to be alert to changes in demographic factors so that adjustments can be made as rapidly, and painlessly, as possible.

The tables are instructive in demonstrating the sources of the rapid changeover from teacher shortage to teacher surplus.

Table A1: Enrolment projections Primary Schools: South Australia.

Table A2: Enrolment projections Secondary Schools: South Australia.

Table B1: Estimates of Total Primary Teachers Required: South Australia.

Table B2: Estimates of Total Secondary Teachers Required: South Australia.

Table C1: Estimates of new Primary Teachers Required: South Australia.

Table C2: Estimates of new Secondary Teachers Required: South Australia.

Table D1: Estimates of new Primary Teachers from Colleges of Advanced Education: South Australia.

Table D2: Estimates of new Secondary Teachers from Colleges of Advanced Education: South Australia.

Table E1: Percentage of new Primary Teachers Required estimated to be available from Colleges of Advanced Education: South Australia.

Table E2: Percentage of new Secondary Teachers Required estimated to be available from Colleges of Advanced Education: South Australia.

Source for Appendix Tables: S.A. Education Department.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1

ENROLMENT PROJECTIONS PRIMARY SCHOOLS: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in													
1965	158,335	161,011	163,729	167,085	169,366	172,551	176,773	181,918	188,276	194,974	202,157		
1966	160,053	163,396	165,687	168,300	169,510	169,994	170,962	173,043	175,753	178,947	182,818	187,609	193,077
1967	156,584	158,989	161,509	163,827	165,807	166,966	167,787	169,139	171,022	173,967	177,685	182,320	187,776
1968	155,331*	157,282	159,217	161,507	163,267	164,922	166,615	168,452	171,550	175,013	179,323	183,805	188,412
1969		156,813*	158,901	158,001	158,384	159,726	161,931	165,574	170,847	177,846	187,242	194,337	202,774
1970			156,914*	156,700	156,600	156,700	157,400	159,200	162,200	166,800	173,100	182,000	188,200
1971				156,458*	156,400	156,600	157,200	159,100	162,200	166,800	173,100	180,300	187,600
1972					154,681*	152,260	150,000	147,000	149,500	152,900	157,200	163,800	170,600
1973						152,426*	150,957	146,700	149,200	152,500	157,300	163,300	169,530
1974							153,777*	155,491	157,504	160,470	162,508	163,442	164,329
1975								152,828*	153,200	153,800	153,900	153,000	151,600

Note: *Indicates actual figures from August school censuses.
Primary enrolments include special schools and classes.

APPENDIX

TABLE A2

ENROLMENT PROJECTIONS SECONDARY SCHOOLS: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in													
1965	67,902	70,557	73,360	76,359	80,588	83,882	86,537	88,100	89,034	90,214	92,033		
1966	65,459	67,912	70,364	73,015	76,450	80,425	83,615	86,118	87,541	88,473	89,258	90,043	91,073
1967	65,818	68,009	69,793	72,018	74,380	77,468	80,889	83,506	84,927	86,005	86,730	87,044	87,397
1968	66,644*	69,392	72,380	74,196	76,178	78,463	80,953	83,472	84,907	86,528	87,436	88,676	90,473
1969		69,278*	71,630	74,792	78,768	82,398	85,487	88,620	90,910	92,601	93,473	93,614	93,628
1970			71,866*	74,800	78,000	81,400	84,200	86,800	88,700	90,000	90,400	90,500	90,500
1971				74,982*	79,800	84,800	89,700	93,300	95,700	96,800	96,700	96,800	96,800
1972					77,932*	80,800	84,500	87,800	90,200	91,500	91,800	89,700	91,200
1973						83,030†	85,001	86,790	87,734	88,833	89,973	91,930	94,794
1974							82,703†	86,339	87,445	88,792	86,752	84,867	83,430
1975								85,786†	88,000	88,100	87,100	95,500	84,300

Note: *Indicates actual figures from August school census.
†Indicates actual figures from February school returns.
(Secondary August figures are lower and do not accurately show staffing needs throughout the school year.)
Remaining figures in these lines are projections for February.

APPENDIX

TABLE B1

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL PRIMARY TEACHERS REQUIRED: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in													
1965	5,436	5,534	5,631	5,747	5,825	5,941	6,087	6,252	6,475	6,711	6,960		
1966	5,484	5,610	5,787	5,971	6,116	6,242	6,378	6,581	6,678	6,804	6,958	7,142	7,355
1967	5,466	5,553	5,736	5,910	6,093	6,238	6,383	6,441	6,509	6,625	6,760	6,935	7,146
1968	5,544*	5,613	5,686	5,785	6,035	6,206	6,383	6,457	6,577	6,709	6,873	7,045	7,221
1969		5,644*	5,739	5,950	6,071	6,313	6,613	6,707	6,860	7,075	7,363	7,744	8,032
1970			5,726*	5,892	6,007	6,234	6,502	6,579	6,709	6,905	7,166	7,527	7,780
1971				5,906*	6,040	6,274	6,540	6,621	6,755	6,949	7,209	7,507	7,804
1972					6,280*	6,430	6,466	6,447	6,584	6,788	7,005	7,324	7,660
1973						6,414*	6,493	6,439	6,575	6,774	7,015	7,310	7,624
1974							6,858*	6,897	6,985	7,115	7,233	7,303	7,371
1975								7,473*	7,639	7,809	7,960	8,095	8,095

Note: *Indicates actual figures from August school census.

APPENDIX

TABLE B2

ESTIMATES OF TOTAL SECONDARY TEACHERS REQUIRED: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in													
1965	4,297	4,474	4,651	4,838	5,104	5,315	5,477	5,585	5,644	5,713	5,831		
1966	4,151	4,298	4,475	4,622	4,848	5,093	5,300	5,457	5,545	5,604	5,653	5,702	5,771
1967	4,176	4,313	4,421	4,558	4,705	4,901	5,127	5,293	5,381	5,450	5,489	5,509	5,538
1968	3,682*	4,394	4,585	4,699	4,826	4,970	5,128	5,287	5,379	5,481	5,538	5,617	5,731
1969		3,893*	4,141	4,451	4,832	5,215	5,588	5,988	6,184	6,343	6,446	6,456	6,457
1970			4,170*	4,452	4,785	5,152	5,486	5,865	6,034	6,164	6,234	6,241	6,241
1971				4,541*	4,862	5,378	5,872	6,312	6,518	6,648	6,668	6,674	6,674
1972					5,048*	5,423	5,788	6,140	6,443	6,630	6,701	6,694	6,857
1973						5,341†	5,592	5,825	6,009	6,212	6,427	6,710	7,074
1974							5,949†	6,270	6,400	6,549	6,450	6,332	6,247
1975								6,710†	6,875	6,937	6,913	6,814	6,744

Note: *Indicates actual figures from August school census.

†Indicates actual figures from February school returns.

(Secondary August figures are lower and do not accurately show staffing needs throughout the school years.)

Remaining figures in these lines are projections for February.

APPENDIX

TABLE C1

ESTIMATES OF NEW PRIMARY TEACHERS REQUIRED: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in										
1970	932	896	1,037	1,113	932	1,002	1,094	1,193	1,340	1,264
1971		919	1,050	1,116	942	1,012	1,097	1,197	1,274	1,311
1972			985	877	819	993	1,086	1,128	1,271	1,332
1973				993	786	991	1,080	1,153	1,245	1,305
1974					933	949	1,002	1,007	977	985
1975						773	901	973	1,010	890

APPENDIX

TABLE C2

ESTIMATES OF NEW SECONDARY TEACHERS REQUIRED: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in										
1970	861	955	1,037	1,047	1,141	953	941	880	818	811
1971		953	1,215	1,257	1,261	1,053	994	887	874	868
1972			1,080	1,117	1,150	1,141	1,049	942	863	1,054
1973				978	990	960	1,012	1,055	1,155	1,284
1974					1,094	945	981	752	720	738
1975						669	646	635	653	656

Note: These figures relate to the additional teachers needed each year for replacement, increasing enrolments and improvement in teacher pupil ratios.

APPENDIX

TABLE D1

ESTIMATES OF NEW PRIMARY TEACHERS FROM COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in											
1970	460*	525	558	588	811	820	822	833	931	999	1,055
1971		447*	601	552	747	815	818	828	926	995	1,001
1972			517*	597	764	811	835	842	840	843	853
1973				551*	679	726	749	747	749	748	748
1974					711*	767	776	750	731	727	727
1975						723*	776	816	718	725	729

Note: *Actual figures.

APPENDIX

TABLE D2

ESTIMATES OF NEW SECONDARY TEACHERS FROM COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: SOUTH AUSTRALIA

For Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in											
1970	466*	467	458	542	598	659	701	717	744	750	740
1971		464*	438	549	640	671	702	721	747	753	743
1972			468*	519	582	633	666	664	662	658	655
1973†				571*	597	659	706	512	446	402	396
1974					623*	527	666	662	537	569	570
1975						632*	680	615	558	527	552

Note: *Actual figures

Note: †The 1973 prediction is a consequence of changed treatment of sponsored university students who were in previous years treated as being partially enrolled in a teacher college.

APPENDIX

TABLE E1

PERCENTAGE OF NEW PRIMARY TEACHERS REQUIRED ESTIMATED TO BE AVAILABLE FROM COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: SOUTH AUST

For Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in										
1970	56	62	57	73	88	82	76	78	75	83
1971		65	52	67	87	81	75	77	78	76
1972			60	87	99	84	78	74	66	64
1973				68	92	76	69	65	60	57
1974					82	82	75	73	74	74
1975						102	92	75	73	83

APPENDIX

TABLE E2

PERCENTAGE OF NEW SECONDARY TEACHERS REQUIRED ESTIMATED TO BE AVAILABLE FROM COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: SOUTH AUST

For Year	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Predicted in										
1970	54	48	52	57	58	74	74	85	92	91
1971		46	45	51	53	67	73	84	86	86
1972			48	52	55	58	63	70	76	62
1973†				61	70	73	51	42	35	31
1974					48	69	67	71	79	77
1975						100	94	86	79	83

Note: †The 1973 prediction is a consequence of changed treatment of sponsored university students who were in previous years treated as being partially enrolled in a teacher college.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

R. ADAM

Introduction

The first signs of an accountability movement are now evident in Australian education. It is a natural flow-on from a well-developed movement in the United States and the United Kingdom.

The basis of the accountability concept is that teachers should be required to produce evidence of progress towards objectives agreed between them and their employers — the people of Australia. This would be reasonable (and, some would say, long overdue) if the objectives of the education system were generally agreed upon and their relative priorities accepted. Unfortunately such an agreement does not exist. Australian schools face a staggering list of demands, ranging from massive social engineering projects to universal high quality literacy and numeracy. To demands accumulated over a century of public education are added the annual lists of new demands generated by interest groups in the Australian community.

It is against this mounting list of impossible demands that teachers are now being subjected to social and political pressures to account for their use (or misuse) of public funds. Such is the unhappy situation of Australian education in 1976.

Understanding Accountability

The latest moves towards school accountability arise from contradictory elements in current life-styles. The so-called 'counter-culture' asserts that no one need account for his actions if they are not positively harmful to others. Individuals should not be accountable to church, state or community.

Curiously, however, there is a growing insistence that those who provide goods and services should be more accountable than previously. The 'consumer movement' has placed civil servants and businessmen under detailed scrutiny. There has been a proliferation of 'consumer protection agencies' and 'ombudsmen'. Although relatively untouched as yet by these formal agencies, teachers (as persons selling a service) are likely targets in the future.

Are these two trends, 'doing your own thing' and 'consumer protection' conflicting ideas, or are they different sides of the same coin? Some see them as democracy at work, the assertion of the rights of the ordinary citizen. Others regard them as a selfish abrogation of social responsibilities. Whatever interpretation is placed on them, they are having, and will continue to have, important implications for education in Australia.

Although the word 'accountability' may be new to educational literature, the concept goes back to the origins of human society. Any person entrusted with the possessions of another is held to be accountable for his care and use of them. The Christian Bible is full of references to this theme. In the parable of the talents, servants are required to account for their use of resources entrusted to them. In another instance especially relevant to the modern accountability of teachers, Matthew (chapter 12, verses 36 and 37) writes:

> But I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account of in the day of judgment.

It will be suggested in this paper that 'idle words' of teachers cause many of the accountability demands directed at schools.

Educational accountability appears in two main forms in professional journals and in the mass media: the broader interpretation encompasses all demands for accounting for school expenditures, while the narrower interpretation refers only to demands concerning pupil achievement in basic subjects. There is no clear line between these forms: often it is only a matter of emphasis. Both stem from the fundamental theme of a confrontation between teachers and their employers. Both interpretations will therefore be considered in this paper.

Accountability in the United States

There is already a large number of journal articles and books which deal with educational accountability in the United States. Among the best-known books are those by Browder (1971), Coleman and Karweit (1972), Lessinger and Tyler (1971) and Wynne (1972).

Since 1969, American education journals have carried more than 300 articles on this topic. The growth of interest in it may be charted by counting published articles listed each year in the *American Education Index*. The category 'Accountability' first appeared in the Index in 1969 when 16 articles were listed. For the following years, the figures were: 1970 with 62 articles, 1971 with 73 articles, 1972 with 80 articles, 1973 with 59 articles, and 1974 with 53 articles. This record suggests that interest in the topic which developed so suddenly after 1970 in the United States, may now be declining.

Explaining how use of the word has changed, Nicholson (1972) says:

> Accountability (in American education) is not new: what is new is the formalizing of diffuse responsibilities under one heading. It implies scrutiny of the school by a variety of groups: parents, students, teachers' unions, and other interested parties. Originally, the term referred only to fiscal responsibilities, but is now used in reference to student achievement in cognitive and affective domains, curricular programming and teaching, and administrative performance.

In the pendulum swings which characterize attitudes to schools, the accountability movement in the United States is in large part a reaction against the massive expenditures on education in the 1960's. President Johnson's *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* of 1965 provided very large sums of money for schools, in the hope that they would fight poverty and provide new opportunities for disadvantaged children. These hopes faded in the 1970's and disillusion spread from the academics (Jencks, 1972) through political and ethnic groups across the spectrum of American society. It was inevitable then that the ever-present critics of school spending should be joined by moderate groups who were disappointed to find that large increases in educational expenditures had produced only minimal changes in the outcomes of schooling.

From these doubts about the value of increased spending on education, there evolved new approaches to school budgets. Detailed allocations of funds were required. Such headings as 'Maintenance of school plant and equipment' or 'Teachers' salaries' were no longer acceptable. Now budgets must refer to 'Equipment for Grade 3 Arithmetic' or 'Teachers' salaries for Grade 5 Reading'. The purposes of this kind of budget were firstly to focus attention on basic school subjects as opposed to 'Life Adjustment Courses' and similar products of the Progressive Education era, and secondly to permit people outside the school to demand that measured progress in Grade 3 in Arithmetic or in Grade 5 in Reading should be compared with the costs of these activities.

Some investigators were clearly distressed to find that earlier school budgets did not provide information needed to press accountability on teachers. Swanson (1971, p. 458 in Vol. 2) comments sourly in his article on "Cost Effectiveness Measures in Education":

> Accounting procedures must make possible the determination of costs of a given programme. Elements of these requirements probably exist in all school districts, but they are probably inadequate in all.

Predictably, teachers and their unions reacted strongly against the new budgets (Nash, 1971, p. 501). They protested that criticisms based on such budgets ignored many valuable outcomes of schooling, and failed to take into account factors which made equal attainment between different schools and different classes impossible.

In spite of protests, 32 American state governments passed laws during 1973 and 1974 which introduced additional accountability procedures into their school systems. Already in 1975, however, one or two states had had second thoughts and rescinded accountability laws (*Legislative Review*, Education Commission of the States, 5, 6, March 1975). Accountability legislation requires school boards to budget for and assess attainment in schools under their control. Some laws ask for nothing more than routine surveys of the results of standardized attainment tests, but others require detailed budgets matched with school results in various subjects (Hills, 1974).

Supporters of accountability in the United States reject the accusation that they are persecuting teachers. They claim to be less interested in past failures than in future planning. Without detailed budgets, they ask, how is it possible to plan for the future? How can changes be made in education if we have no measures of progress to the present? A supporter of this school of thought, Jacob Landers (1973, p. 540) explained his attitude as follows:

> I believe that the current concept of accountability as defined to emphasize educational results, the allocation of responsibility for results, and the consequences to those held responsible, represents a powerful force for positive educational change.

In the United Kingdom

As might be expected in a different cultural context, the accountability movement in the United Kingdom has followed a somewhat different pattern from the American movement. In Britain, there have been fewer journal

articles and books on this subject, and most writers seem to belong to employer organizations, parents' groups or conservative education groups. The book, *The Accountability of Schools* (Cox, 1973), for example, includes contributions from leading Conservative Party spokesmen on education.

In articles on accountability, British schools are accused of general inefficiency, and in particular of neglecting literacy, numeracy and vocational preparation. The economic recession in Britain since 1970 has caused cuts in education spending. These, in turn, have sharpened demands for teacher accountability. Schools are now experiencing strong pressures to justify their share in limited public funds.

British education authorities have not so far given serious attention to matching progress in school subjects with expenditure on those subjects. The demand for accountability has focused on total school costs and the resulting growth in marketable knowledge and skills. If financial support for Australian schools is further reduced in the coming years, it may be expected that the accountability movement in this country will mirror this aspect of pressure on British schools.

Interest Group Demands in Australia

As noted earlier, accountability demands from sections of the Australian public are not new. Among the early settlers were church groups who believed that the schools should be accountable for moral standards in the colonies. There were groups of shopkeepers who criticized schools for the low standards of arithmetic among their clerks. From those pioneer days to the present, teachers have constantly been subjected to demands that they should perform certain functions seen as important by individuals or groups (Adam, 1973). There have been demands that school authorities should measure the performance of these functions, and should explain any shortcomings.

An interest group cannot hope to hold the attention of the public continuously, or to secure a regular response from educators. For varied reasons (which are often difficult to define), a single group or interest attracts the attention of the media and draws comment from legislators, bureaucrats and teachers. It is able, for a brief period, to exert pressure on schools, and to demand accountability statements from them (Adam, 1975, p. 166).

Studies of Australian newspapers in recent years have shown the cyclical nature of education accountability demands (Jecks, 1974, Arnold, 1973, and Small, 1971). Various categories of interest groups are reported as obtaining press coverage for their demands for relatively short periods. Public attention is focused on one sector of the Australian education system, and responses are expected and received.

Typically, there is an answer from the Minister for Education or the Director-General of Education. Analyses of such answers show that they follow a pattern of statements of past achievements of schools with regard to the problem under discussion. A second answer comes from teachers or others dealing with the problem. This usually accepts the responsibility of the schools, admits that they have not dealt satisfactorily with it, and suggests better means

for handling it. The important point in this pattern is that no one rejects school responsibility or refuses to hold teachers accountable for the task. Observation of criticism of the medical profession, social workers and lawyers shows that these professions are much more ready to reject responsibilities which they consider to be outside their competence.

In order to understand better the current accountability pressures on Australian teachers, the groups which make these demands will be briefly surveyed. The number of groups which have education policies and press them from time to time, is very large. In each Australian State, there are at least 20 significant organizations with a continuing interest in schools. From time to time, these organizations form coalitions among themselves and with small ad hoc groups to voice demands for changes in Australian schools. Bassett (in his article in 1971, and in various writings since) has stressed the importance of forces external to the education system in this country in shaping the future of the schools.

One of the strongest pressures on Australian schools in the 1970's has been for greater equality of opportunity. This has focused mainly on children from lower income groups (an attack led by groups in sympathy with Labor Party education programmes) and on children with low academic ability (a campaign associated with Progressive Education groups) (Musgrave, 1975, p. 22). The flow-on from similar campaigns in America is obvious, and was noted in the Schools Commission Report for the triennium 1976-8 (pp. 6-12).

Associated with attacks on provision for poor children and low ability children has been an emotional campaign on behalf of children with physical or mental handicaps. In each Australian State, there are organizations concerned with the welfare of children with particular handicaps. Individually and collectively, such organizations demand that education authorities accept greater responsibility for this type of schooling. Their demands probably meet with more resistance than most others because of the high cost of schooling for handicapped children.

Australian newspapers report recurring demands that schools should join campaigns to lessen the damage done by misuse of tobacco, alcohol and drugs. Members of interest groups concerned with this problem clearly believe that teachers, if they wished, could play a major part in their campaigns. This view, although unsupported by any reliable evidence, has been accepted by some health authorities. The result now seems to be that teachers are being held accountable for a reduction in alcoholism and drug-abuse.

A few years before the attempt to use schools to fight alcoholism and drug-abuse came the campaign to lower the road-toll through action in the schools. Road-safety organizations were very successful in persuading education authorities to accept responsibility in this field. Curriculum items throughout Australia, and driver-education programmes, are evidence of the impact of their campaign. As a result, an increase in road deaths or a particularly horrifying road accident very often brings bitter criticism of teachers for not being more successful in their road-safety education lessons. A similar history could be recorded for water safety. Swimming classes have

become an accepted part of Australian school programmes and teachers are held accountable for the ability of the adult population to avoid death by drowning.

Since 1970, consumer groups in Australia have had some success in persuading schools to include consumer education in their curricula. Business leaders have reacted by pressing schools to teach about free enterprise and the importance of the profit motive. In Western Australia, for example, speakers have toured secondary schools presenting the viewpoint of industry and commerce on these topics. Schools have thus accepted responsibility for conveying an understanding of the competing philosophies of business and consumer groups.

The letters and editorial columns of Australian newspapers contain repeated references to the need for schools to attack anti-social behaviour such as theft and vandalism (Small, 1971, Arnold, 1973). These references have largely replaced earlier calls for better "moral training" or religious education. Civic and business groups urge schools to join campaigns against shop-lifting, destruction of public telephones, fire-alarm hoaxes, etc. Teachers are seen as failing in their duty when they do not succeed in preventing children and adolescents from stealing or damaging property. Thus schools acquire yet another responsibility.

The secret of successful interest group pressure is to choose the best time and the best target. The year 1975 was obviously seen as the best time to place the blame on schools for sex discrimination in Australia. Various women's groups launched vigorous attacks on school organization and curricula, claiming that they were largely responsible for wrong attitudes to women in this country. It is a tribute to the vigour and political power of the relatively small interest groups involved that they obtained hasty assurances from education authorities that reforms would take place in this aspect of schooling.

Only a few of the major interest groups which have attacked schools in Australia have been mentioned here. The list could be extended to include almost every large organization in the country: churches, employers, trade unions, welfare groups, aboriginal groups, cultural and sporting interests have all made their demands on education authorities and on teachers. Most have been successful in obtaining public acknowledgement that schools should accept some responsibility for promoting their cause. Teachers would be astonished to discover the very long list of tasks to which they have been committed in recent years by education authorities or by their colleagues.

In most of the cases discussed so far, interest groups were pressing demands not generally recognized as school functions before the twentieth century. One of the strongest pressures during 1975 and 1976, however, is concerned with a basic and universally accepted function of schools, namely the cultivation of effective literacy and numeracy. It is interesting that this pressure has appeared in many countries at about the same time. In 1976, one may find it in the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan (and possibly in many other countries). In each of these countries, very strong criticisms of the schools have erupted, and these criticisms have focused on alleged failures to give good training in reading, writing and arithmetic.

Because the attacks have been so widespread, it is difficult to attribute them to any particular interest group. Certainly industrial and commercial groups have been particularly vocal on this subject. They have been supported by parents' groups and political organizations. According to a newspaper report (*The West Australian*, 9 January 1976), the Premier of Western Australia, Sir Charles Court, "got to the core of a pervading community problem when he opened the annual conference of the Australian Teachers' Federation. He said that he was old-fashioned enough to think that communication needed discipline and thought — which meant legible writing, constructed sentences, and good spelling."

A few days later, Australian newspapers featured a report from Britain (Survey by the Federation of Personnel Services, January 1976) which described school leavers in Britain as "void of anything which we were able to recommend to a would-be employer. . . . School leavers had to be given simple arithmetic lessons." Various Australian organizations commented that this reflected their experience, and they called on the schools to remedy the situation.

One organization, the Council for Educational Standards, seems to have been set up solely to press accountability demands in the area of traditional school subjects. Led by academics and teachers, it has strong support from parents and business leaders. The Council's *Statement of Principles* opens with the sentence:

> ACES has been formed to give expression to the widespread concern felt by many people about the quality and content of education in Australia at all levels.

Elsewhere in its manifesto, it asserts that

> The main decisions about the direction education should take are not a matter for educational experts alone, but are properly the concern of the whole community, including especially parents.

These views echo precisely the accountability demands of similar interest groups in America and Britain.

Teachers and Administrators as Interest Groups

Attention has been focused so far on interest groups which operate outside the Australian education system. It should not be overlooked that powerful groups also operate within the system. Formal and informal associations of teachers and administrators press demands on governments, the education bureaucracies, and not least on their fellow-teachers. From time to time, they require all or part of the school system to account to them for particular decisions or policies.

Most of the time and resources of teachers' organizations are spent on protecting their members, but specialized sections frequently join with outside groups to press for more or better music education, more attention to art, new home economics courses, special treatment for handicapped or disadvantaged children, etc. These groups are rightly regarded as powerful allies by groups outside the teaching profession who are happy to form coalitions

with them. As employees, it is natural that teachers should press demands on the authorities who represent their employers. What is often not realized is how often interest groups representing teachers are active in generating or strengthening accountability pressures on their own members or on fellow-teachers.

Responses from Teachers to Accountability Demands

Education authorities and teachers respond to accountability demands through a variety of channels: through official statements, articles in journals, letters to the press, conference resolutions, and papers read to conferences such as those of the Australian College of Education. Through these channels, the profession and the public are provided with guides to current opinion among teachers about the demands being made on the education system.

It is interesting that, in Australia, responses generally accept the right of any group to make demands, and the duty of the schools to meet them. When driver training in schools is demanded, the response concerns itself with funds and facilities, and not with the suitability of this activity for schools. If more sex education is needed, few voices are raised to question the school role in this social responsibility. Breakfast and after-school care of children gravitate automatically into schools: how to handle them dominates the response from the education system, and not whether they are part of the school task.

There may indeed be very good reasons why these and a hundred other new functions should be allocated to formal education institutions. They are quoted here to illustrate the ease with which interest groups fix in the minds not only of the general public, but also of teachers and administrators, the idea that any task which society wishes carried out and which relates to persons under 18 years must invariably be located in schools. The corollary to this concept is that teachers are then accountable for its success.

There are few teachers or education officials who would claim a clear conscience in this matter. How many have not readily agreed that schools should be helping to solve this social problem or to stop that alarming development? How many have objected to the accumulation of a never-ending list of responsibilities which teachers should accept?

The Australian College of Education is a prestige organization which is widely recognized as speaking for the whole education profession in Australia (Bassett, 1974, p. 232). When members of the College publicly state that the schools should perform a certain function, the Australian public is justified in thinking that this function belongs in schools. The College has thus unwittingly helped to create the myth of school omnipotence, the idea that schools can cure poverty, inequality and prejudice. Members of the College see its conferences as opportunities for the exchange of ideas, some of which may find acceptance with only a tiny minority of teachers in Australia. Other Australians whose contact with educational discussion is minimal read these statements in the press or hear them on television, and accept them as being much more widely representative than they in fact are.

To select a single example, the report of an earlier conference which was published under the title *Each to His Full Stature* (Dunn et al., 1965) contained many statements (including, regrettably some from the author of this present paper) which could be interpreted as accepting new responsibilities on behalf of schools, or as enlarging present responsibilities (e.g. pp. 8, 67, 80, 105, 121). While this is entirely normal for an education conference, one wonders whether there should not have been sounded somewhere a cautionary note about limitations on the ability of Australian schools to deal with these matters. Rising accountability demands should make teachers more careful about the effect of their enthusiasms on the public at large.

It would seem that the answer is not so much to damp down the healthy euphoria of conferences, or to stifle suggestions for innovation which flow from teachers' meetings everywhere, as to ensure that the public is informed in a positive way of the limitations on social change through schools. Few people outside the teaching profession are aware of the smallness of the fraction of an individual's life which he or she spends in school. Few realize how many items of knowledge, how many skills, and how many attitudes schools are already expected to instil in this short time. Few are conscious of the powerful influences from home and society which work against the school and its teachings. Because interest groups always expect so much more than any school could perform, all future responses to group demands should perhaps be prefaced by an attempt to convey a realistic appraisal of how little is really achieved by adding some new item to the school curriculum. This would go far towards blunting the force of current accountability demands and would create a more receptive public for statements by teachers.

Teacher response to accountability demands related to the "three R's" has always been different from that to new challenges for social change through education. Teachers' organizations react sharply against allegations of falling standards (as, for example at the 1976 Conference of the Australian Teachers' Federation). They claim that standards only appear to be lower because functional literacy is being extended to a much wider section of the community than formerly. They add that, at the same time, other valuable skills and attitudes are now being produced, in addition to those required from school leavers of previous generations.

Research being inadequate, there is no way of being sure whether the teachers or their critics are correct about standards in basic subjects. The important fact, for this discussion, is that the teachers' response does not seem to be accepted by the sections of the public which have mounted this particular accountability campaign. They accuse teachers of accepting too readily demands from other interest groups for school emphasis on social engineering projects and of neglecting basic subjects to further these projects. The critics find it easy to produce semi-literate and illiterate school leavers, and when news of these is combined with press statements by teachers accepting new school responsibilities, they provide fuel for an explosive confrontation between vigorous interest groups and teachers.

Future Developments

Prediction of the course of future events is always a hazardous exercise in education because of the complexity of the factors involved. One must agree with futurologists, however, that imaginative probing beyond the present can help to prepare us for future shocks, or perhaps enable us to act to avoid such shocks. It is proposed, therefore, to examine briefly three different ways in which the accountability movement in Australian education might develop.

1. It is possible that demands will continue to flow into the education system in a haphazard manner from all sections of the community (including teachers), and that these demands will be accepted without protest. Attempts will be made to add them to already overloaded school programmes. The story in Australian schools will be like that told sadly by the American writer (Wirtz, 1975, p. 6):

> The schools steadily accumulate the discarded tasks of the larger society — everything from emotional guidance to sex education and driver training.

As our schools become less able to cope with these tasks, public support will decline. As financial support is withdrawn, the whole system will come near to collapsing. Then governments, teachers and the public will be forced to make fresh assessments of what they want the schools to do.

2. Present agitation for detailed accounting could grow as it is doing in the United States. Hard-line accountability groups could win the struggle with teachers' unions, and schools could be forced to relate expenditure to progress in basic subjects. Gaining little public sympathy in a time of economic recession, teachers could decide to increase emphasis on literacy, numeracy and vocational preparation.

3. Interest groups from all parts of the education spectrum could realize the conflict which lies ahead if they continue on their present paths. Those anxious to use the schools to effect massive social change could stop and ponder whether they are holding the schools accountable for too many tasks:

> The first logical question is: Accountability for what? . . . With each decade, as other institutions of society slough off more and more of their responsibilities, the list of residual functions of the schools grows longer. Society, by dint of trying to hold schools responsible for almost everything, finishes by being able to hold the school responsible for almost nothing (Landers, 1973, p. 540).

Those concerned about what they see as neglect of basic subjects could look to ways to improve instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic without alienating those who value other sections of the school curriculum. The extremes of both sets of interest groups could replace their present open hostility towards schools and teachers with more moderate and constructive attitudes. A compromise could be worked out.

Conclusion

These speculations on future possibilities relate to the generality of Australian schools. Happily it is certain that schools, and State systems will develop differently in response to the challenges that they should be accountable in the ways outlined above. We are fortunate in having a pluralist system, much more diverse than some visitors from overseas realize. The legendary individualism of Australians does not disappear when they become teachers. State schools are different from independent schools, and Western Australian schools are different from Victorian schools. There will be many and varied reactions to accountability demands.

As with so many problems in education, the accountability movement is the result of communication failures. Those anxious to secure social change through the schools have not adequately explained their aims or their methods. Teachers who have a high regard for basic school subjects but also want various innovations have not communicated their ideas to parents who are disappointed with the reading ability of their children. There are many groups in the Australian community which are intensely interested in education and its outcomes. Only when these groups exchange their ideas clearly and with tolerance for other viewpoints will accountability demands serve as a useful stimulus, and not a threat to Australian education.

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COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION: AN APPRAISAL OF SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE PROGRESS

B. F. HENRY

During recent years educators and the public in Australia have heard much about the positive and creative aspects of community involvement in education. In fact, it has been championed by all groups in education. Politicians, academics, administrators, teachers and parents have, in the main, added their goodwill and energy to promoting the closer relationship of school and community.

In this period there have been some very significant developments in community involvement and it seems timely to review this progress in general, and some specific aspects in particular. It is intended that this paper will consider the definition of community involvement and its implications, and the parameters of this involvement in education. It is proposed to review the community oriented programmes recommended in the Schools Commission Reports, and finally to consider three particular aspects of involvement which I believe to be of some significance for the future.

Community Involvement

Community

Despite the fact that sociologists have had great difficulty agreeing upon the meaning of community, the term is presently used very loosely by many individuals and groups. The notion of community can be complex and complicated. It had its roots in the nineteenth century where it was conceived as a sense of togetherness. Today, most sociologists use the word to refer to the places in which people maintain their homes, earn their livings, rear their children and, in general, carry on most of their life activities.[1]

Hillery, in examining 94 definitions of the term "community" found that at least three major elements entered into most definitions. These were (a) geographic area, (b) social interaction, and (c) common ties.[2] The community differs from other units of social organisation in that it has a firm territorial base. Above all, communities represent an organisational pattern through which persons meet their daily needs in a local area. Communities consist of people in interaction with other people.

Involvement

The contemporary view of involvement is the effective participation of people in a broad range of activities and decisions which have important influences on them both individually and collectively. It is also a process which can be used to achieve ends, and is popular participation in change. This involvement, as it has been defined here, is a relatively new process in the

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[1]Poplin, D. E.: *Communities, A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research.* New York: Macmillan, 1972, p. 9.

[2]Hillery, G. A.: "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement". *Rural Sociology*, 20, 2, June 1955, p. 118.

Australian context. In fact, Australians in the past have shown a marked preference for removing decision-making powers from people affected by those decisions and placing them in the hands of independent experts. Grills[3] refers to the Australian arbitration system as the classic example of this.

With the rapid increase in the complexity of government which has occurred since the Second World War, decisions affecting the individual have increasingly rested with the public service. The complexity of government, the traditional anonymity of the public service, and the added confusion of the division of responsibility among and within government and quasi-government institutions, have made it very difficult to locate the source of many decisions, much less to affect them.

There are three general ways that involvement has been used in the past, and these have been inefficient in encouraging any real participation. First, there has been a token attempt to seek views of people outside formal and bureaucratic organisations. Second, there has been a form of selective involvement of "experts" on advisory committees. In addition to being highly selective, such groups are often invited to comment on rather fringe issues, and are kept away from central policy and political issues. Third, advisory frameworks have been set up that do not offer the scope for full involvement. These avenues do not offer the scope for a full representation of views, and do not give sufficient information for groups to be able to encourage wider participation and the presentation of views from a cross-section of people.

Community Involvement

It is claimed that, to a significant extent, the community involvement movement in Australia owes much to the issues of the 1960s where large groups of people were sufficiently motivated to seek to modify decisions being taken which affected them.[4] Their apparent success led many people, including politicians, to take a renewed look at the value of involving the community in the decisions which concerned them. In recent years there have been an increasing number of policies introduced by governments which depend for their existence on involvement by the community. This is important, because it is through participation and involvement that people indicate their needs, and it is through providing channels for this process that governments and institutions can remain sensitive to the wishes and needs of their constituents.

In theory this probably presents the most positive, and ambitious, side of community involvement. Many hold more qualified views as to what may be achieved through community involvement. For instance, Kogan[5] recognises that there is a gap between efficiency and democracy that is not met by the electoral process. He believes that the most that the electorate can do is to

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[3]Grills, P.: "Community Involvement". *Social Security Quarterly*, 2, 4, Autumn 1975, pp. 13-15.

[4]Australian Council for Social Service: *Participation in Australia*. Sydney: A.C.O.S.S., 1974, pp. 28-35.

[5]Kogan, M.: "Public Organizations and Popular Involvement". In *The Challenge of Change* (Kogan, M. and Pope, M., Eds.). Slough: N.F.E.R., 1972, p. 16.

punish its representatives retrospectively—as you will see this is very bad learning theory, a sort of negated Skinnerism. The threat of non-election is the only sanction that the community holds and almost everything else that it can do is summed up in the term "pressure group". The pressure groups, as part of community involvement, are various both in their motivations and their effectiveness. They include the clientele of the services, the professionals working within them, the academics and others. Kogan believes they have important but sporadic impacts on policy-making and their acceptance, as part of decision-making, is uncertain.

Community Involvement in Education

Reasons for Involvement

In the early stages of public education in Australia, there was involvement by the community in the establishment of schools. Over the years, immediate parental and community participation in the education process gradually assumed more and more a minor role as the professionalisation of teaching advanced. Two other forces have also tended to keep parents and the community from participating in education. One has been the teacher's insulation from the community. He is insulated from parental pressure since he functions on behalf of society as a whole and not simply on behalf of the local community. Also, in Australia, the teacher represents to the community in which he works, state-wide accepted values. The local community does not interpret the task he is to perform.

The other factor is the size and impersonality of the public school systems. Even well-educated members of the public who seek to discuss educational matters with teachers and administrators are deterred by either the inertial mass of the system or the aura of professional exclusiveness. The atmosphere in most school buildings discourages parental presence, and most parents visit the school mainly in response to trouble. Furthermore, schools have carefully drawn boundaries as to how far parents (singly, or in P. & C. Associations) may go, even in asking questions of teachers. Therefore, although the Australian school is insulated to a large extent from interference by parents and others, it is conversely, unable to have a great deal of influence on them.

There is a functional relationship between the environment generated by the parents and the child's attitude towards school. If parents and other community residents view the school as an ineffective, unresponsive institution, the child can very easily enter school in a mood of distrust, anxiety or hostility. On the other hand, if parents perceive the school as a place with which they are closely associated, with which they can identify, which is accountable for educational quality, and which is their own school, then the chances of children entering the school with positive feelings and expectations are greatly enhanced.

Teachers and administrators have a responsibility to help parents voice their feelings and wishes, to articulate more effectively, to know their way round the education system and to use it actively instead of just accepting it.

Parents benefit in many ways from genuine partnership with teachers. They gain advanced and recent knowledge about children and education, and they also have the opportunity to share experiences and ideas with teachers and other parents. Through the opportunity to establish himself in the eyes of parents as an important contributor to the child's welfare, the teacher may gain additional personal satisfaction, recognition, appreciation and status in the community.

The work of both parent and teacher is reinforced and supplemented when there is co-operation of home and school with parents directly involved in education. The openness of a school to parents and the community is a means both of extending its educational influence and of reinforcing pupil motivation.

Within the past decade, parents have been questioning more and more the kind of education being offered to their children. How many parents really believe that modern maths is far better than traditional maths; that present trends in teaching spelling and grammar are an improvement? There is much confusion among parents because of educational changes, and this is so because, generally, schools and education systems have not only failed to keep parents informed, but also, have generally failed to involve parents in these changes.

Our children are sent to schools, not to systems of education, and so to a large extent the school must be accountable to those it serves. Democracy and accountability in education should be closer and more immediate than the ballot box. This is basic to the North American system and it should not be inappropriate in Australia. School systems were never meant to be professional monopolies, for while professionals participate in the development of goals and priorities, the right of the public to hold them accountable for their actions remains. Public education is a public as well as a professional business.

Also, enterprises which are supported by public funds live in an area of criticism, and the schools have been sensitive to this fact for many years. Many of the current criticisms of education may result from inadequate understanding of what the schools are trying to achieve and what they actually are achieving. Community members who have an understanding of educational purposes and practices through active participation in the school are not easily incited to action based on hearsay, biased opinion, or emotional prejudice.

Community involvement in education has received firm encouragement from the major political parties in Australia. The October 1975 federal education policy of the Liberal and National Country Parties states: "We are pleased to see moves by the Schools Commission and the State Governments to encourage a more active role by teachers, parents and local communities for a greater voice in determining educational priorities and programmes. We would consult with the States to determine ways in which a devolution of authority could be implemented and in particular how Federal Government funding could be structured to assist the States in promoting devolution of authority."[6]

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[6]Liberal and National Country Parties: *Education Policy*, 1975, p. 3.

The Federal Labor Party policy on involvement in education is contained in its 1975 national platform. "Government strategies in education should be aimed at developing a co-ordinated network of educational facilities responsive to community and individual needs and committed to diversity, innovation, equality of opportunity, accessibility and the maximum devolution of responsibility."[7]

Nature of Involvement

Recently, community involvement in education as in many other aspects of society, such as health and welfare, has undergone growth and change. Decentralisation is making possible participation by regions, by districts, and by individual schools. Changes in professional relationships and curriculum are offering opportunities to teachers within the school to determine what the school does. By a wide range of activities and relationships, parents and other citizens in the community are being given the opportunity to participate in decisions concerning schools and education.

In general, there are four broad areas of school/community interaction which are presently taking place in Australian education, although I would emphasise that each is not applicable to all school systems and to every school. The forms of community involvement to which I refer are:

A. Community use of school facilities.
B. School use of community resources.
C. The Community Education Centre.
D. Community participation in decision-making.[8]

A. *Community Use of School Facilities.* Running parallel to the traditional preference of the Australian family for its own home and land is the long-standing tendency for community groups to set up their own facilities. The stage has now been reached however, when independence must be balanced against resources. Also, as is frequently the case, the nearby school stands idle for much of the day thus representing a clear waste of capital resources. So there is seen to be an imperative to explore the possibilities of joint use covering a full spectrum of community activities throughout the day and evening. Such a prospect raises important human and administrative issues but if these can be resolved there is enormous potential benefit to be realised.

The use of school facilities is not a new form of community involvement and, in fact, the use of classrooms for adult education is long established throughout Australia. Recently though, facilities have been more extensively used, not only in the traditional ways but by the development of entirely different uses. During the school day facilities are used for activities such as Playgroups, English language classes for adults, and social and communication centres. Some schools operate joint use libraries for the students and for the

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[7]Australian Labor Party: *Platform, Constitution and Rules*, 1975, p. 12.

[8]For a more detailed discussion of these points see Vacchini, L. F.: "What is Community Involvement?". *Community Involvement in Education. Information Booklet No. 1.* Sydney: Department of Education, 1975.

public. Outside school hours, facilities are now used for ethnic language and culture classes, sport and athletics coaching, child minding centres, and workshops for music/art/craft for both adults and pupils.

B. *School Use of Community Resources*. Recent developments in this type of involvement include a marked growth in the extent and diversity of citizen support for the school, as well as the use of resources outside the school. Increasingly, parents and other citizens are coming into the school to assist the educational programme by providing expertise in specific skills, and also by assisting the teacher to expand the child's social and personal contacts.

Outside the school, the community provides further resources for learning through educational excursions and studies. More recently, a growing number of work experience programmes have been developed in which students have an opportunity to experience, while still at school, different short-term employment activities before any firm commitment is made to an occupation. Schools are also becoming involved in many avenues of activities of community service whereby a programme of activities is undertaken to assist disadvantaged or handicapped groups.

C. *The Community Education Centre*. Like many terms in educational usage, "community school" has different meanings. In one instance it is seen as being similar to a "school without walls" in that it ". . . tends to be 'open', to use existing community facilities, with its own building often a little-used community facility".[9]

In general though, the community school or community education complex serves the community as a centre for a variety of educational, cultural, recreational and social development activities for both youngsters and adults. In newer areas, such as housing developments and fully planned suburbs or towns, the co-ordination of these factors may be combined with the provision of other community services in health and social welfare to give a centrally located community resource serving all persons in the area. Centres, such as these, are being developed in the A.C.T., S.A. and N.S.W., and provide facilities designed to cater for the education and recreation of all members of the community from the pre-school child to the senior citizen.

D. *Community Participation in Decision-making*. Parental and citizen participation in decision-making at the school level takes many forms. In some school systems, as in North America, there is participation through local control of schools. The community, through a board or similar body, is the proprietor of the school. In other instances, the degree of community control and influence over schools varies from full responsibility to a complete absence of local participation.

Community involvement or participation in decision-making at the school level means giving parents and others the right to express their views about the school's educational programme, what it should be doing for the community, and what the community should be doing to help the school. If schools

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[9]Reus-Smit, K. C.: *The Community School — What is It?* Paper presented at the Home School Relations Conference, La Trobe University (undated), p. 1.

are to be seen as agencies of society and as a means for shaping society then the community must possess means to have its views heard.

The Schools Commission Reports and Community Involvement

The late 60s and early 70s saw a growing acknowledgement in Australia of the need to more closely involve the school with its community. A number of public committees of enquiry, although not having this as their central task, made strong recommendations for increased community involvement in education. In particular, I refer to the 1969 Tasmanian Report on "The School in Society", the Report on "Education in South Australia" of 1971 and the three Reports prepared for the A.C.T. These were the Neal-Radford Report on "Teachers for Commonwealth Schools", the Campbell Report on "Secondary Education for Canberra", both published in 1972, and the 1973 Report on "A Design for the Governance and Organisation of Education in the A.C.T." In this same period there were also considerable developments taking place, both formally and informally, in the State systems by which schools were being encouraged to become more open institutions. Possibly of greatest significance here was the general move throughout Australia for the devolution of greater responsibility in regard to the curriculum and other professional matters to the individual school and to the teacher. In May 1973 a new and significant influence was added to the area of community involvement in education in Australia (and also to education in Australia in general). This was the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, "Schools in Australia". Both this Report, and the Commission's "Report for the Triennium 1976-78" had considerable relevance for community involvement.

Report of the Interim Committee

Recommendations contained in the Report sought to improve the overall quality of schooling within a framework that would reflect the values of equality, diversity, devolution of authority, community participation, and responsiveness to change. The Report recommended seven separate programmes to improve the input of resources to schools and school systems so as to help overcome disadvantages experienced by pupils in particular schools, to improve the general level of functioning of schools, and to encourage new ideas in education.

The value most strongly emphasised in the Report was that of devolution of responsibility to those most closely involved in the running of schools and school systems.[10] Associated with this objective was community involvement and participation at the local level. On this the Report stated:

"The Committee favours less rather than more centralised control over the operation of schools. Responsibility should be devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task of schooling in consultation with

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[10]Matthews, J. K. and Fitzgerald, R. T.: "Educational Policy and Political Platform", *Australian Education Review*, 7, 4, 1975, p. 36.

the parents of the pupils whom they teach and at senior levels, with the students themselves. Its belief in this grass-roots approach to the control of the schools reflects a conviction that responsibility will be most effectively discharged where the people entrusted with making decisions are also the people responsible for carrying them out, with an obligation to justify them, and in a position to profit from their experience. Many consequences follow from this basic position. In the first place, a national bureaucracy, being further removed from the schools than are State ones, should not presume to interfere with the details of their operation. Secondly, the need for overall planning of the scale and distribution of resources becomes more necessary than ever if the devolution of authority is not to result in gross inequalities of provision between regions, whether they be States or smaller areas. The role of the Australian Government in this operation is supplementary to that of the States, but its national responsibility may become increasingly important in ensuring an adequate level of resources and their equitable spread."[11]

The three programmes in which the Report specifically required local involvement, initiative and control were those for innovations, disadvantaged schools and education centres.

Innovations. Finance to encourage innovations in schools was provided for under the Special Projects Programme. The Report said that past projects for improvement in schools had been largely ineffectual because ". . . people most affected have been made to feel that they are merely reacting to a particular policy or procedure instead of being actively engaged in formulating it". Applications for support under the programme were invited from individuals and from groups of teachers and the community, ". . . so as to provide an opportunity for change to come from beyond the present institutional framework".[12] Such projects might include the establishment of learning networks extending beyond the school; projects designed to improve parent-teacher interaction; and co-operative programmes which would draw schools closer to their neighbourhoods.

Through the Special Projects Fund $7.2m was provided during the biennium 1974-75 to foster change at the school, system and national levels. Of the projects funded about 42% originated with the school principal or staff, 40% from teachers, 13% from community groups, and 5% from school boards and students. The amount of money provided for school-based projects varied from $50 for a community aid programme to large grants of over $80,000 which sought to develop new perspectives in the area of community involvement in education.

Disadvantaged Schools. The Report placed great emphasis upon programmes to improve the equality of opportunity. It recommended supplementary recurrent and building grants for disadvantaged schools. During the biennium, $23.4m (recurrent) and $31.3m (capital) were provided by this

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[11]Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission: *Schools in Australia.* Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1973, p. 36.

[12]Ibid., p. 127.

programme. A general objective of the Disadvantaged Schools Programme was the hope that some schools might evolve, through successful interaction with their communities, into new "open" institutions, less alienated from their communities than was generally the case in disadvantaged areas. The Report held the view that the quality and extent of parental involvement is vital in student development. It acknowledged that in disadvantaged areas it is difficult to attract parents to the school, and the Report advocated parent counselling. "Extra resources will be required if the community is to be not only informed . . . but also listened to . . ."[13] As there was no single line of action which would be appropriate everywhere it was suggested in the Report that teachers, parents, community groups and possibly students should devise and implement a variety of initiatives.

In March 1975 a conference was held to consider the progress of the Disadvantaged Schools Programme in the Central Metropolitan Region of Sydney. The following points were made in regard to community involvement in the disadvantaged schools there:

(a) success of the programme in the school is dependent upon communication with parents and the public, and their active support;

(b) innovation and variety must become part of the community involvement programme;

(c) parents and the community should be vital members of the organising committee at the school.[14]

Education Centres. The Karmel Report provided funds for two related teacher development activities — the conduct of in-service courses and the establishment of Education Centres. These Centres were to be autonomous and provide a setting in which teachers and members of the community interested in education would initiate and control activities designed to improve their own competence. Advantages were seen in including a parent or community member on the management committee and of making the Centres open to people other than teachers who might be interested in the courses and the facilities.

During 1974-75, 85 applications for financial assistance to establish Centres were received and 32 were funded — 18 of these with full-time staff and 14 part-time. During 1974-75, $2m was provided for capital works and $.76m for recurrent purposes at the Centres.

When evaluating the programme in 1975, the Commission stated that "on the evidence available, all Centres have taken advantage of their autonomy to develop in the way most appropriate to the circumstances. The Inner City (Sydney) and Western Region (Melbourne) Centres for example, have taken up the problem of disadvantage in their areas. . . . While in-service courses for teachers are the major concern of the Centres' programme, community

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[13]Ibid., p. 96.

[14]Thomas, C.: "Community Involvement". *Assisted Schools Conference, Central Metropolitan Area (Sydney)*. Katoomba, March 1975, pp. 68-74.

groups interested in social and educational issues of many kinds have also been meeting in the Centres."[15]

While the school and community recommendations of the Report met with general support there have been a number of writers who have voiced some reservations. For instance, the extent to which local involvement took place in the Innovations, Disadvantaged Schools and Education Centre programmes depended, not only on the Report's recommendations, but on the policies of the Departments of Education and Catholic education authorities which had control of the majority of funds. Also, Balmer[16] in particular, has drawn attention to the qualification made by the Report when it states "Responsibility should be devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task, in consultation with the parents . . ."[17] It is his view that this indicated the Committee's belief that the professional educators had the power, and the parent role was merely advisory.

It is also claimed that some recommendations of the Report also seem at odds with the stated aim of devolution of responsibility. Fitzgerald[18] draws attention to the fact that grants to Catholic schools were to be paid to statewide boards of trustees, thereby necessitating some strengthening of the central administration. Some writers have also been sceptical of the stress placed by the Report on local participation and control. White, for example, argues that one result of the recommendations will be ". . . while people participate and even have control in their localities, central control remains the firmer for being more obscure".[19] In summary, this criticism is that the Report did not go far enough in devolving responsibility to the local level.

Report for the Triennium 1976-78

In June of last year the Schools Commission Report for the triennium 1976-78 was tabled in Federal Parliament. But, in the August Budget the Government postponed triennial funding and so the Commission was requested to prepare a summary report for the 1976 school year only. The Government asked the Commission to prepare revised proposals by 31 March 1976 for a new triennium 1977-79. These directions have been set aside with the change in Government. In effect, the programmes for 1976 are a continuation of those of 1974-75 with no new initiatives, reduced capital funding, but recurrent funding maintained at the previous level.

The original Report for the triennium 1976-78 again committed the Schools Commission to encouraging more open attitudes to educational

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[15]Schools Commission: *Report for the Triennium 1976-1978*. Canberra: A.G.P.S., 1975, p. 68.

[16]Balmer, C.: "Implications of the Australian Schools Commission for Community Involvement in Education". In *Australian Schools, The Impact of the Australian Schools Commission* (Allwood, L. M., Ed.). Drouin, Vic.: Australian International Press and Publications, 1975, p. 28.

[17]Interim Committee, op. cit., p. 10.

[18]Matthews, J. K. and Fitzgerald, R. T., op. cit., p. 37.

[19]White, D.: "Create Your Own Compliance: The Karmel Prospect". *Arena*, Nos. 32-33, 1973, p. 43.

questions, organisations and structures. It asserted that the adaptation of educational arrangements to the needs of children is more effectively achieved when the school or learning community is allowed maximum freedom to address itself to its own problems and act upon its own best judgement. The Commission also continued its support of the Innovations, Disadvantaged Schools, and Education Centre programmes of the Karmel Report.

The Commission stated that it was anxious to accelerate the movement of a greater degree of decision-making power to regional and school levels. While this movement had already begun in most systems the Commission believed that decisions made at these levels should be substantive rather than trivial, that they should be made in consultation with teachers, parents, and senior students, and that unless they gave direct local power over spending they were not likely to be significant. The Report went on: "The non-government school community may select its own staff, and deploy the resources available to it in ways which it regards as educationally desirable. The Commission does not accept that the educational obligations of government and state-wide promotion structures for staff limit the possibility of such arrangements in government schools in more than the short term."[20]

In regard to specific programmes, the Report confirmed the Commission's wish to help break down the barriers between school and community and to facilitate the transfer to appropriate decision-making powers to the school level. The Report proposed that for 1976-78 the Commission should:

(a) plan that a significant proportion of funds in the General Recurrent Grant Programme be provided through systems to each school as a cash entitlement which will be at the disposal of the school. The Commission stated that it was aware of the current wide variations in the degree of involvement and participation, and believed that it will be important for all interested parties to allow schools and communities time and opportunity to evolve their own structures for decision-making rather than have them imposed from above;

(b) expect that within the proposed Services and Development Programme at least 10% of the funds provided for developmental activities will be spent on projects submitted by parents or parent-teacher groups;

(c) allow within the Capital Grants Programme an amount of $6m for the modification of buildings and grounds of schools in ways which would allow their neighbourhood communities to have access to their learning and recreational resources; systems and schools were expected to devote portion of the recurrent funds provided to them to meet the costs of staff required to make possible community use of school resources;

(d) offer to systems authorities its full co-operation and support for projects involving the community in the planning and design of schools;

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[20]Australian Schools Commission, op. cit., p. 10.

(c) encourage systems and schools or groups of schools to devote portion of the recurrent funds to support the active participation of parents in school activities and to employ personnel concerned with promoting and guiding interaction between the school and the community at the regional or local level.[21]

Like the Karmel Report, the community involvement recommendations for the triennium 1976-78 may be criticised by some in that they do not go far enough and that they promote an illusion of community involvement by giving only peripheral responsibilities and limited finance to the school and its community while retaining real control with the central authority. Yet the triennium report recommends a most significant initiative in that recurrent funds will be given to individual schools and part of this money used in employing staff to assist in the community use of educational facilities.

I believe that the recommendations concerning school and community in both of the Schools Commission Reports have been widely accepted at all levels of the education systems and particularly by teachers, parents and involved members of the community. I see basically three reasons for this:

(1) the Schools Commission has provided finance to be used at local level with responsibility for this resting largely with local committees;

(2) the Schools Commission has not imposed rigid bureaucratic controls on parents and teachers in the programmes which are funded; and

(3) the area of community involvement is one of the Commission's activities in which there is general agreement among all parties, and an area in which pressure groups are absent.

I have reviewed the Schools Commission's programmes here in some detail, not because they are the major influence affecting community involvement — for I believe that this rests with the education authorities in the States and regions — but because the Commission has advocated a number of new, and very interesting, developments in community involvement and it has been prepared to provide funding for these activities.

Finally, I wish to refer to three aspects of community involvement which I feel best illustrate the potential, and also some of the problems, of moves to increase community participation in education in Australia. These activities are community service by pupils, the community education centre, and community involvement in decision-making.

Community Service

The term community service is used as a loose description of activities in which pupils devote themselves to tasks which are extended to benefit other members of the community. Its aim is to identify various kinds of human need and to bring to bear on them the appropriate measures of help. In the main it means activities outside the school in which the aged, the young, the handicapped, the sick are assisted.

[21]Ibid., p. 117.

As the primary purpose of schools is educational the objectives of community service must be considered in terms of the benefit to the pupils. In recent years the aim and objectives of education in Australia have stressed the closer relationship between school and community. The curriculum has placed emphasis on learning about society at first hand. Community service schemes have been developed as one means of introducing real life experience into schooling and they offer a way of learning that demands active participation and personal involvement.[22]

This service may provide a practical approach to education in citizenship which makes a stronger appeal to some pupils than would classroom teaching. Also, it is important that young people should acquire some knowledge of our society's structure and of its social provision for human welfare. So far as possible these things are best learned by observation, activity and direct experience. More important perhaps than knowledge, young people may gain insights and new relationships which will affect their attitudes.

As well, community service generally involves personal encounter. The young who volunteer stand to gain in sympathy, understanding and the capacity to identify themselves imaginatively with others. They may also achieve a greater measure of self-awareness and find opportunities for responsibility and initiative which might otherwise be lacking. It is these benefits to the pupil which teachers, parents and pupils emphasise when describing successful service programmes.[23]

The Community Education Centre

One of the most impressive arguments in support of the community education centre concept has been an economic one. With the growing demand for social, educational, recreational and cultural facilities the pressures on available resources have been such as to encourage co-operative development and multiple use of school buildings. Implicit in this is the assumption that sharing of use between the school and the community results in savings in both capital and recurrent costs.

In N.S.W. the Department of Education is presently building the first purpose-designed community school in the State. This is the Minto Community Education Centre located near Campbelltown in the outer western suburbs of Sydney. It is important because it is a pilot project upon which authorities in N.S.W. and also throughout Australia will be gauging the future prospects of the school/community centre concept. Moreover, the lessons to be learned from the Minto experience will be relevant not only to new projects but also will provide useful information for community use within existing schools. The construction of the Minto Centre provides an opportunity to

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[22]A review of community service by schools is given in Department of Education and Science: *Community Service in Education (Education Survey 20)*. London: H.M.S.O., 1974.

[23]Inner City Education Centre: *Community Involvement in Education. Report of a Workshop*. Sydney: I.C.E.C., 1975, p. 21.

examine some of the more significant issues relating to the community school concept in Australia. These issues include design, administration, operations and financing of joint-use facilities.

As early as 1971 it was recognised that the Campbelltown New City Project offered a unique opportunity for planners and educators to co-operate in the design, provision and use of community facilities in association with new school development. In 1973 a special committee was established to report to the Minister for Education on the joint use of the school site at Minto. Membership of the committee included representatives from the Department of Education and the local Council, with advisers from the Public Works Department, State Planning Authority, Housing Commission and the Library Board.

The school site is of approximately 28 acres and adjoins the commercial Minto District Centre. The major components of the Education Centre are an Infants' School, Primary School, Secondary School, School for Handicapped Children, and four major joint use facilities. It is anticipated that construction will commence in 1976 and be completed late in 1978.

The four major school/community facilities being established are an assembly/community hall, a sports complex, a community library, and sports and playing fields. The multi-purpose hall contains a main hall of 800-person capacity, 2 smaller halls, and also catering facilities. Two halls are provided in the sports complex and there are approximately 15 acres of playing fields in the project. The community library will be used by all members of the community from pre-school to the elderly.

It is clear that the physical facilities of the Minto complex will have an enormous potential for educational, social and recreational activities by the community. Both capital and operating costs will be shared between the Department of Education and the Council. As yet the management structure has remained largely unresolved although one recommendation is that a committee representing both Council and Department have general oversight of all community facilities.

At this stage it is difficult to determine the real worth of the Minto Centre as a blueprint for the future because many important issues remain unresolved. Nevertheless, the very experience of designing and planning Minto is proving to be of enormous value by focusing attention on those issues requiring change if the ideals of community use of schools are to be realised. For example, it has highlighted a number of legal complications pertaining to site acquisition and joint financing of projects. Also, Minto has raised very significant issues concerning the administration and operation of shared facilities. Burkhardt[24] refers to the extensive planning required for a complex such as Minto, and that due to uncertainties associated with the schedules of many developers, insufficient time may be allowed for joint projects such as this to be initiated.

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[24]Burkhardt, J.: *The Recreational Potential of Community Schools*. Paper submitted to the Department of Town and Country Planning, University of Sydney, 1975.

Therefore some conclude that a large Community Education Centre such as Minto, can only be built under fairly exceptional circumstances and that it most certainly does not have a universal application. But alternatively, one significant value of these purpose-designed Centres may be the application of the lessons learnt to maximising the community use of existing schools and new schools of standard design.

Community Involvement in Decision-making

In Australia, until recently, there was little opportunity for community involvement in decisions relating to government schools. In several States and both Territories the situation has now developed in which parents and the public may participate in school councils for the governance of individual schools. The following is a brief summary of the present situation.

In Tasmania the 1969 Report, *The School in Society*,[25] contained suggestions about use of school buildings and resources by the community and ways of involving the community in the educational process. It recommended the establishment of advisory boards. Legislation in 1974 gave these boards responsibility for maintenance of school buildings, control over community use of school premises, and responsibility for liaison with parent groups.

In South Australia a limited system of school councils has been in operation for some years and their role was expanded in 1973 as a result of new regulations. The membership of the councils includes teachers and parents, and in the case of secondary schools, representatives of State and local governments. The council may advise the headmaster on the general educational needs of the community, the condition of school accommodation, and the distribution of any grant made to the school council by the Minister.

During 1974 all Canberra schools established school boards comprising the school principal and representatives of teachers, parents and the School Authority. In secondary schools and colleges there are also student representatives. The boards are able to determine the school's aims and objectives, make recommendations on the school's needs, and have responsibility for funds. The final Authority Ordinance decided that boards would not have any right of hiring teaching staff or dismissing them.

In the Northern Territory there have been a number of experimental school councils established and, in general, each school community is responsible for determining its own form of school government under the approval of the Director-General of Education. For instance, in Darwin, Nightcliff High School and Casuarina High School councils are widely representative of teachers, parents, students and local government. The council at Casuarina also includes representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades and Labour Council, Darwin Community College and the Aboriginal

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[25]Tasmanian Department of Education: *The School in Society*. Hobart: Department of Education, 1969.

boarding school. The Councils are responsible for policy on school discipline, financial policies, ancillary staff, maintenance of facilities, and advising the principal on general educational policy.

Traditionally, school councils in Victoria comprised the principal and parents, and had responsibility in regard to financial budgeting, teacher housing and promoting education in the school. In 1974 the Director-General announced that each school community would be able to choose the composition of its own council. The duties would include advice to the teachers on the school's educational policy, oversight of facilities, recommendations for building alterations, and employment of ancillary staff.

In N.S.W. a consultative paper on *The Community and Its Schools*[26] was released for public discussion by the Minister for Education in 1973. The paper recommended the establishment of school councils of teachers and a majority of parents. They would have responsibilities for development of policies, advice to the principal, and management of school policy. The paper also proposed that councils could become involved in the appointment of the principal, and he in turn involved in staff appointments. A Report[27] based on the response to the working paper was published in 1974. It rejected changes to the present system of teacher appointment, advocated increased decentralisation to Regions and made recommendations regarding membership and powers of the school boards. In July 1975 the Minister for Education announced a more flexible composition for the councils which would still retain majority representation for parent and community representatives. The proposals have met strong opposition from the teachers' union with claims that non-professionals will be involved in educational decisions.

Conclusion

These recent developments throughout Australia indicate a general trend towards some degree of community involvement in decision-making at the school level. Yet they have been accompanied by an extraordinary amount of public debate, and by industrial pressure from teachers to have the powers of councils severely restricted. Possibly the education authorities could themselves adhere closer to the spirit of community involvement, and also make the process less traumatic, if they were less rigid and gave greater flexibility to each school and its community to determine the structure and power of its own school council.

As well, it is not exactly clear what the community itself wants as far as closer school/community interaction is concerned. Recent studies in the

[26] N.S.W. Department of Education: *The Community and Its Schools: A Consultative Paper on Regionalization and Community Involvement in Schools*. Sydney: Department of Education, 1973.

[27] N.S.W. Department of Education: *The Community and Its Schools: Report of the Review Panel Appointed by the Minister for Education*. Sydney: Department of Education, 1974.

inner urban area of Melbourne, by Fitzgerald, Musgrave and Pettit,[28] and in suburban Sydney by The Hills Study Group[29] cast doubt on the public's willingness to participate in responsibility at the school level. Many parents feel that they are not competent to make educational decisions and that this should be left to those professionally trained in education, the teachers. Similarly, Kogan,[30] when commenting on the reorganisation of the Local Education Authorities in England, was concerned that if the local community gained increased decision-making power they would certainly have control but would not have the expertise needed for competent decisions. In Australia, Paterson[31] feels that ". . . participation per se is an invitation to mindless and ill-directed elaboration of empty rituals".

On the other hand there are many in the community, particularly some State federations of parent associations, who argue strongly for the establishment of local school bodies elected by teachers and the community, and having responsibilities in regard to educational policy. Other groups even insist that the community should become the proprietors of the school — that there should be community control. They argue that this control would lead to educational innovation, would make teachers and administrators more accountable to the people, would enhance flexible hiring and promotion practices, would lead to educational reform, and would raise student achievement.[32]

With such conflicting demands by pressure groups in the community, the option to shelve completely any plans for increased community involvement must be very tempting for education authorities and for politicians. Yet, by definition, community involvement embraces the ideal of people seeking to modify decisions which affect them. Therefore, community involvement in education cannot be left to extend only as far as parents helping teachers on excursions or to the local community raising funds for the school. It must include some responsibilities for decision-making.

This belief that parent and citizen involvement in decision-making is intrinsic to effective community participation in education seems to me to be just one specific instance of a more general view of the responsibilities of the community as a whole. This view has perhaps been best expressed by Thomas Jefferson: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

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[28]Fitzgerald, R. T., Musgrave, P. W. and Pettit, D. W.: "School and Neighbourhood. A Case Study". *Australian Education Review*, 7, Nos. 1 and 2, 1974.

[29]The Hills Education Study Group: *Parental Involvement in Schools* Sydney: The Hills Study Group, 1973.

[30]Kogan, M., op. cit., p. 17.

[31]Paterson, J.: "Social Planning and Community Participation". *Community*, 2, 4, Oct. 1975, p. 2.

[32]See Fantini, M. D., Gittell, M. and Magat, R.: *Community Control of the Urban School*. New York: Praeger, 1970; and Levin, H. M. (Ed.): *Community Control of the Schools*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1970.

THE SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY:

SCHOOL COMMUNITY INTERACTION IN AUSTRALIA FOSTERED BY THE POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF THE SCHOOLS COMMISSION 1974-1976

S. K RANDELL

The purpose of this paper is to examine the Schools Commission's policies and programmes with respect to the progress being made in Australia involving the community in the school and the school in the community. After a brief consideration of the historical background to the issue, the relevant values expressed in the report of the Interim Committee[1] and the two Commission reports[2] will be discussed. The effect of the strategies recommended for increasing school-community interaction through the multi-programme structure of the Commission will be described. Finally some of the constraints and tensions governing progress in the area will be discussed in relation to what may be possible in the future.[3]

Historical Background

The long history of dependence on the authority of centralized governance in education in Australia has been well documented.[4] Until recently, education in each State system had basically the same structure of government: the most important powers for administrative and educational decision-making were firmly vested in highly centralized, bureaucratized State education departments.

Historically there were valid reasons for the establishment of such systems. In a country of wide geographic dimensions the needs of rural children deserved special consideration and equality of educational opportunity was a major justification used by States for establishing their own systems as church schools became unable to cope with rapidly increasing populations. Politicians considered the introduction of free, compulsory secular schooling a victory for democracy and an essential part in the process of moulding the people of separate Australian States into a unified society.

In recent years however there has been increasing dissatisfaction with the minor role allocated to direct parent and community participation in schools. There has been a growing rejection of both large impersonalized bureaucracies and the impersonality of modern life, and a new exploration of community in many forms: community schools, community associations, community radio, community health, community education. The democratization of work conditions in the past decade in both the public and the private

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[1] *Schools in Australia:* Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, Canberra, AGPS, 1973 (Karmel Report).

[2] Schools Commission: *Report for the Triennium 1976-78*, Canberra, AGPS, 1975 (1976-78 Report); and Schools Commission: *Report for 1976*, Canberra, AGPS, 1975 (1976 Report).

[3] The assistance of colleagues in the Schools Commission in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

[4] Randell, S. K. and Turnbull, J. M.: *The School in the Community: A Bibliography*, Canberra, Schools Commission, 1976, pp. 1-14.

sectors has been a contributing influence. An increasingly educated and technically competent people, more aware and able to express their concern, is now requesting participation in decisions affecting their own interests in a range of community issues including education. The moves towards participation include pressure for the decentralization of all kinds of administrative and government powers and establishment of local governing councils.

The last three years in Australia has seen further progress towards regionalization in local government. The Grants Commission Act 1973 was followed by the development of regional groupings of local councils, and the Australian Assistance Plan encouraged the formation of regional councils for social development. Regionalization is argued by its proponents to be a means of overcoming common problems more economically, developing more socially viable ways of increasing local community participation in decision-making, eliminating inequalities between different areas, and improving the efficiency in allocating resources and delivering services.

In the same period most States have progressed towards further regionalization in education. Decentralization has been recommended in the Neal-Radford Report (1972), Campbell Report (1973), Hughes Report (1973), Karmel Report (1973) and the Schools Commission 1976-78 Report (1975). The formation of school councils has been a major topic of interest and debate in both Victoria and New South Wales, and Queensland is now the only State without some commitment to the establishment of councils in schools.

The underlying cause of ferment in society and in schools is rapid social change. There have been dramatic changes during the last two decades in family life, in communication, both transport and media, in industrial conditions, technology and ideologies. However, education has not adapted adequately to changing conditions in society and a large number of schools have appeared inadequate to meet the real life needs of many students some of whom have become alienated from society. This has contributed more than anything else to the growing perception of an increasing number of parents, teachers and students that they have had no power to change priorities and directions in the education system.

Furthermore, educational research is providing evidence of the powerful influence parents have on their children's success in school results and achievement — as powerful an influence as any other educative factor, including the inputs of the school.[5] There is increasing recognition of the need for parents and teachers to consult each other and co-operate in the best interests of the child.

For all of these reasons the development of strategies for increasing school-community interaction has become of vital concern to educators.

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[5]Ibid., pp. 15-26.

The Policies of the Schools Commission

The Karmel Report

The Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, set up by the Whitlam Government in December 1972 to report on primary and secondary schooling throughout Australia, addressed itself to some of the issues concerning the school and the community in its report *Schools in Australia* (Karmel Report). Two of the major values it espoused were devolution of responsibility and community involvement.

The Committee stressed that it favoured less centralized control in the operation of schools:

> "Responsibility should be devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task of schooling, in consultation with the parents of the pupils whom they teach and, at senior levels, with the students themselves. Its belief in this grass-roots approach to the control of the schools reflects a conviction that responsibility will be most effectively discharged where the people entrusted with making decisions are also the people responsible for carrying them out, with an obligation to justify them, and in a position to profit from their experience." (Para. 2.4.)

The Committee recognized that one of the consequences of this position is that national bureaucracy should not interfere with details of the operations of schools. However, overall planning of the scale and distribution of resources assumes greater importance if unequal provision of resources is to be avoided and some services need to be centrally organized to serve all schools. The Committee acknowledged that teachers need to be supported, and parents and members of the community provided with opportunities to participate as responsibility for decision-making shifts towards the school.

The Committee questioned the social isolation of schools in Australia and suggested that forging closer links between schools and other socializing agencies would increase the possibility of providing equal life chances for children from all kinds of backgrounds.

> "Antipathy towards and apathy about direct community participation in the governance of schooling is widespread throughout Australia. Schools have much to gain from the involvement of the community in educational programmes. Complete parental control over the educational welfare of their own children could limit the perspectives of the school and deny the authority of teachers in professional matters. However, the openness of a school to parents is a means both of extending its educational influence and of reinforcing pupil motivation; and the obligation on teachers to explain to parents procedures developed through expert knowledge, can only benefit all concerned." (Para. 2.19.)

The multi-programme approach recommended by the Committee included several strategies to encourage the implementation of its values.

Through its two major programmes, the General Recurrent Grants Programme and the General Buildings Grants Programme, approximately 90 per cent of all Commission funds were to be made available to the States to allocate according to their own priorities. The other programmes for specific purposes were to be administered by representative committees at state, regional and local levels. In particular, the Disadvantaged Schools Programme was to stress the importance of the involvement of parents and community groups in the preparation of proposals and the Special Projects Programme was to encourage applications for school-level projects from students, teachers, parents and members of the community.

The 1976-78 Report

In its *Report for the Triennium 1976-78*, the Commission gave more extended consideration to the question of school-community interaction. A study group was set up in 1974 to examine the roles and relationships between schools and their communities. The Group made a number of recommendations which were taken up in Chapter 11 of the Report.

The Commission focused on the school community as one of the three major themes in its Report and reiterated that a greater degree of decision-making power should be moved to regional and local levels. Decisions made at these levels should be substantive and made in consultation with teachers, parents and senior students. Direct local power should be given over spending. The Report placed greater emphasis on the right of teachers, parents and students to participate in the formulation of school policy, and the need of teachers particularly for support services, specialist assistance and co-operation from colleagues. The idea of the significance of the school as a learning community was further developed.

> ". . . The complexity of public issues in a society such as our own, which is also a political democracy, requires that ordinary citizens, not just a minority of experts, be able to consider alternatives and evidence and to accept the provisional rather than absolute nature of social arrangements and solutions. Attitudes as well as knowledge are involved. Participation in decision-making in a community seeking workable solutions to problems facing it, in an atmosphere of respect for persons, may give people an appreciation of their own capacity to participate in shaping circumstances and the obligation to take the wishes and interests of others into account in doing so . . ." (Para. 2.18.)

A multi-programme approach was maintained. However, in the 1976-78 Report specific additional strategies were suggested in five of the six Programme areas to further community involvement and the devolution of responsibility. These will be referred to in detail as each Programme is discussed later in the paper.

The 1976 Report

The economic situation in mid-1975 forced the Australian Government to postpone triennial funding of its educational programmes and the Education

Commissions were required to make a further report for 1976 which was to be an interim year in the triennial progression.

In the 1976 Report the Commission reaffirmed as one of its bases for funding that the educational needs of children are more effectively met when the school community is allowed maximum freedom to tackle its own problems and act upon its own best judgment.

> ". . . the Commission is seeking to move a greater range of decisions to the school community, where teachers, parents and students may participate in making them. The Commission sees influence over expenditure as a fundamental part of this process and believes that within systems the first steps should be taken to make some of the operating funds for schools available to those who work in them. Similarly development activities should be opened to parents as well as teachers. Wider participation in decision-making is also encouraged in recommendations about the participation of major ethnic groups in planning educational services for their children, in those recommendations related to Aboriginal education and in those concerned with operations of the Special Projects, Services and Development and Disadvantaged Schools Programmes" (Para. 2.3.)

Owing to the government decision to fund no new initiatives during 1976, the specific recommendations for funds to stimulate school-community interaction in the 1976-78 Report were not implemented.

The Effect of Strategies to Increase School-Community Interaction in the Operation of Commission Programmes

It has been noted that strategies to increase school-community interaction have been recommended in five of the six Commission Programmes and the effect of these strategies in practice within the Programme will now be examined.

There have as yet been no specific emphases on community involvement in the Special Education Programme. The Programme has concentrated to date on defining the scope of special education for Commission funding purposes and the lack of comment on school-community interaction does not imply that its value is any less in this field. It is in fact particularly important for professionals working with exceptional children to involve parents in the planning and provision of programmes for their children.

The Programmes most affected by policies on school-community interaction are the Disadvantaged Schools, Services and Development, and Special Projects Programmes. They will be treated in more detail after a brief discussion of the General Recurrent Grants and General Capital Grants Programmes.

General Recurrent Grants Programme

The 1976-78 Report set a goal of 1978 for 5 per cent of each school's total costs to be provided in cash for allocation in ways determined by the

school (para. 13.39). The Commission anticipated that some systems could substantially exceed the figure of 5 per cent. The 1976 Report omitted reference to the 5 per cent allocation, and attempts by the Opposition to have a clause enabling the allocation of a specific amount from a school's entitlement to be spent at the discretion of the school board included in the States Grants (Schools) Bill 1976 were defeated.[6]

The real test of systems' moves towards devolution of decision-making is the ability of school communities to make effective decisions at school level. Already some States are allocating money direct to schools although often with restrictions and directions on how it should be spent. Some technical colleges and secondary schools in Victoria are approaching the 5 per cent target and in South Australia the Education Department is conducting an investigation with a view to formalizing school-based funding.[7] The Commission sees influence over expenditure as a fundamental part of the process of devolution of decision-making to school level and will support any initiatives made by systems to facilitate the process.

In para. 11.25f of the 1976-78 Report the Commission encouraged systems and schools to devote portion of the funds provided by the General Recurrent Grants Programme to support the active participation of parents in school activities and to employ personnel concerned with promoting and guiding interaction between the school and the community at the regional or local level. Because the Commission gives States full control over moneys in this Programme its major strategy must continue to be to publicize its values and suggest initiatives to achieve them.

Capital Grants Programme

The recommendation contained in the 1976-78 Report that a sum of six million dollars be set aside for adapting school buildings for community use was one of the new initiatives that was unable to be carried forward in the 1976 funding. The Commission also encouraged systems authorities to set up projects involving the community in the planning and design of schools and has jointly funded with one State system a pilot project in this area.

Commission funds have enabled a number of proposals from schools for the establishment of activity complexes, community centres, and the development of grounds and facilities for community recreation or cultural activities to come to reality. All of these projects required financial assistance to enable the schools to open their buildings and other facilities to general community use. Extra costs for security, storage, lighting and maintenance cannot be met by individual schools. It appears that unless funds are specifically allocated for the modification of buildings and grounds only limited progress will be possible in the area of community use of school facilities.

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[6]Hansard, Representatives, 8 April 1976, pp. 1516-1518; Senate, 6 May 1976, pp. 1630-1633.

[7]*School-Based Funding:* A report commissioned by the Education Department of South Australia and prepared by A. C. Burnell and B. F. McMillan, April 1976.

Disadvantaged Schools Programme

The Commission considers that parental involvement is particularly important in schools serving underprivileged groups or communities. One of the major objectives of the Disadvantaged Schools Programme has been to encourage school-community interaction in order to improve school programmes by adapting them to the particular needs of students. The Programme has had a measure of success in achieving this objective in many of the declared disadvantaged schools.

Parent organizations in several States have been officially represented on government central and regional committees and task forces. In some States an initial allocation of funds has been made for specific purposes prior to allocation to schools, however in others all funds have been distributed to the school level following submissions from the schools themselves. The part actually played by parents and other community members in the assessment of needs and the formulation of projects in disadvantaged schools has varied from State to State and between systems.

In Victoria the Programme has received valuable support from the parents' organizations in promoting opportunities for parents to participate at a local level and requests for assistance at school or regional level have been promptly administered. Parents are members of all regional/area committees and participate in the assessment of proposals submitted by schools. Schools are required to form a proposal committee which includes parents as well as teachers and the principal, and any decisions at the school level should be made in consultation with and have the approval of as many members of the school community as possible. Although the degree of participation varies widely from school to school, parents are gradually accepting the new opportunities for involvement.

Only one State, South Australia, has conducted training courses relevant to the Programme to assist parents to gain the skills necessary for participation. An average of three or four week-long residential conferences per year for teachers and parents have been held. Up to a quarter of the representation at recent conferences has consisted of parents, and at one community-dialogue conference equal numbers of parents, teachers and community welfare workers attended. These seminars, which are funded through the Development Programme, have helped parents and community members to acquire greater confidence in influencing decision-making in schools.

The following projects are of particular interest:

School Conferences. A project at Hectorville Catholic School in South Australia included a number of positive proposals to overcome the problem of the non-involvement of Italian parents in the life of the school (of a school population in excess of seven hundred, 80 per cent are Italians). Parents have been invited to participate in school conferences and camps, and a residential weekend conference was fruitful.

After-School Programmes. An after-school programme at Elizabeth West Primary School, S.A., conducted two sessions a week: on Mondays

from 7.00 p.m.-9.00 p.m. and on Tuesdays from 4.00 p.m.-6.00 p.m. Thirty-three activities were available for children including leather work, stamp collecting, cooking, square dancing, craft, drama, table tennis, discussion groups, aquarium care, dressmaking and candlemaking. The project was supervised entirely by voluntary people; some teachers, some parents: 280 children have participated, 15 teachers and teacher aides and 46 parents. A reported outcome is greater understanding and appreciation among the school and community, with children profiting from the ensuing greater congruence of school and parental expectations. At Wollongong, N.S.W., an inner-city school with a 97 per cent migrant enrolment has an after-school programme with a dual thrust. Mothers are taught English while their children are being given activities of an art/craft and cultural nature.

Employment of ethnic teacher aides. In most States teacher aides fluent both in English and the languages of parents have been employed. Aides visit parents in their homes and now parents come to school more confidently. Ethnic aides are valuable resources in the classroom, newsletters can be translated into ethnic languages, and curriculum can be modified to include the study of the students' countries of origin. National music, dance and cooking are encouraged and taught, and a sense of pride in ethnic identity is developed with a consequent increase in self-esteem.

Camps. A comprehensive camping programme has been established by the Central Metropolitan Area Disadvantaged Schools Committee of New South Wales utilizing eight camp sites. In South Australia the Forreston Camp Site project has been an exercise in self-help. Between April and November 1975 a total of forty working bees have been held on Saturdays, Sundays and during holidays to establish the camp, for a total of more than 1,400 person-hours. Of this work 48 per cent has been done by teachers, 31 per cent by parents, 12 per cent by students and 9 per cent by friends of the school. An immeasurable amount of goodwill and camaraderie has been built up among the teachers and parents and a new respect of teachers for students and vice versa has resulted from this work.

Excursions. In several States parents are accompanying teaching staff and students on excursions which have been integrated with the school's programme. In Western Australia three schools co-operated for a parents'/children's/teachers' excursion by train to the historical town of Toodyay. A total of 280 adults—parents, uncles, aunts and grandparents, as well as teachers—and 320 children went on the Sunday excursion. Children swam, visited the local historical museum and enjoyed a barbecue at the showground while teachers and parents shared experiences in a relaxed informal situation. Many of these parents are now more willing to visit the schools to discuss their children's progress, and are less fearful and distrustful of the school.

A limited survey by Richard Fee[5] on parental involvement and participation in a sample of sixty government and Catholic disadvantaged

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[5]Fee, Richard W.: "Parental Involvement and Participation: A Follow-up Study of Some Disadvantaged Schools". Paper prepared for the Schools Commission, 1976.
Also "Parental Involvement in Severely Disadvantaged Schools in High Density Migrant Areas". Thesis (M.Ed.). Canberra College of Advanced Education, 1974.

schools in each State has indicated that significant changes are taking place in the degree and nature of parental involvement in disadvantaged schools. A projects officer has now been employed by the Commission to evaluate the Programme and by the end of 1976 additional information should be available on the effect school-community interaction has in improving school programmes. The evaluation at school-community level, must be seen by teachers in a supportive context that will enable failures to be discussed as freely as successes.

Although the provision of funds has proved to be a great incentive to get teachers and parents thinking about the special needs of children, the experience in the South Australian Catholic system, which has included border-line schools (marginally excluded from the Programme) in the "thinking" of the Programme, has indicated that additional money in itself does not necessarily bring about desirable attitudinal changes and that much can be done with a little financial input. Successful examples of school-community interaction which have led to the alleviation of disadvantage need to be analyzed and given wide publicity.

Services and Development Programme

The most significant progress in school-community interaction made in the Services and Development Programme is in the thirty-two Education Centres which have been established throughout Australia following applications by locally based groups of teachers. As autonomous bodies the Centres have been free to respond to the wishes and needs of teachers, parents and members of the community who have been attracted to the Centres, and the response in some cases has been extremely enthusiastic. Centres have been used as meeting places and the facilities of audio-visual and sporting equipment, libraries, mobile services and information services exploited. Activities in the Centres in the last two years have included:

- multi-bilingual get-togethers for teachers, students and parents
- community and teachers working together on school-based projects
- involvement of parents in curriculum discussions and reading projects
- assisting teacher and community groups to prepare submissions
- playgroups conducted by parents to relieve overcrowding in city schools
- publication of a directory of community resources.

The Inner-City Education Centre Co-operative in Stanmore, N.S.W., has a full-time bilingual liaison officer to stimulate school-community interaction. Special "ethnic events" are scheduled for Italian, Greek, Lebanese, Yugoslav and Turkish migrant parents as part of the Centre's activities. The Centre held a Community Involvement Workshop in 1975 to produce a booklet describing community involvement projects in Sydney.[9]

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[9]*Community Involvement in Education*. Report of a workshop held at the Inner-City Education Centre, Sydney, August 1975.

In Castlemaine, Victoria, the Centre is used for adult education classes, public lectures and meetings, providing facilities for local clubs and groups to meet, and offering duplication and library facilities. An estimated eight hundred people used the Centre during the first month of operation.

In fact the growth of community involvement in several Centres and the enthusiasm with which it has been welcomed and fostered by Centres has led to some concern that their principal objective — the improvement of the professional competence of teachers — is becoming secondary.

The concept of school-community libraries is accepted by the Services section of the Programme, however to date there have been few requests for assistance in this area.

Within the Development section of the Programme there has been a growing emphasis on regionalization in the organization and administration of courses, e.g. in New South Wales the number of courses approved by Regional Committees in 1975 was 2,884 compared with 144 approved by the State Committee. Parents are now represented on Committees at State and regional levels. A growing trend in courses offered has been the inclusion of school staff conferences involving teachers, support staff and parents. The 1976-78 Report recognized the need to equip parents to participate in schools and recommended that 10 per cent of funds for developmental activities be set aside for projects submitted by parents or parent-teacher groups. In 1976 the Programme will allow for a much wider participation by extending development opportunities to all involved in the school community, i.e. teachers, ancillary staff, administrators, parents, interested members of the community and special staff.

Special Projects (Innovations) Programme

The Special Projects Programme has attempted to foster creative change in Australian schools and thus to improve the quality of primary and secondary education. It has endeavoured to do this primarily by supporting projects at school level initiated and carried out by teachers, students, parents and members of the community actively involved in primary and secondary education. During the first two years of its operation the Programme has been very much concerned with responding to the groundswell of demand that has emerged in schools. In the first twelve months approximately 3,000 applications were received followed by a further 1,500 to February 1976. Of these 4,500 applications some 1,200 have received support through the Programme, and over 20 per cent of these projects have concerned some aspect of school-community interaction.

The Programme has been administered through a national Innovations Committee together with Innovations Committees at State level working with the advice of a number of consultants (now termed Counsellors) in each State and Territory. The Counsellors are responsible for consulting with each applicant concerning their project, helping to develop initial ideas to the stage of a viable project, assessing and reporting on projects to the State Committees and ensuring both that there is support for the project from the principal and education authorities, and that the physical conditions and school/staff/community climate are favourable for the project's implementation.

The examples of types of innovatory projects given in the Karmel Report particularly emphasized projects which involve the community in education in a variety of ways (para. 12.6). All of these strategies have been taken up and developed by school communities. The following examples of projects which have been funded under the Programme are classified according to several general categories:

Involving Parents in the School Programme. The majority of these programmes bring parents into the school to assist as voluntary helpers in non-academic courses, mostly arts, crafts, hobbies and leisure activities. The participation of parents in the actual teaching of academic skills is less frequent and usually involves a period of training for the parent-helper who then assists the teacher with remedial teaching, preparatory reading, listening and language enrichment. An extension of the remedial reading programme to parents has been funded in some schools, and at Marist Brothers High School, Penshurst, N.S.W., parents attend evening classes in the same subjects as those studied by their children during the day. Other projects involve the use of parents as teacher aides and in providing assistance with transport, excursions and working bees. Several projects have been initiated by parents themselves. The Hills Education Study Group in Sydney has recently published an account of a survey it conducted to determine the community's expectations of the school. The publication grew out of an investigation undertaken by a small group of parents of primary school children in 1973 and presents a significant sample of parental opinion on a topical educational issue as well as offering a case study of a community action group at work.[10] Very few projects involve parents in decision-making in other than these fringe areas, apart from alternative schools such as Coonara, Victoria, which rely on the real and necessary involvement of parents in decision-making throughout the school.

Using Professional Resource Personnel from the Community. A large number of projects draw upon "experts" or "professionals" from outside the school to provide learning experiences within the school environment. Local cultural groups, historical societies, arts councils, museum authorities and local government councils are all examples of groups involved in these projects where professionals voluntarily offer their services to assist with interest electives. Only a minority of projects involve the payment of professional instructors — musicians, craftsmen and a sporting coach. Approximately a third of the projects were initiated by outside bodies, including Theatre Companies, and a travelling drama group, puppet group and musician who all brought their performances into schools.

Community Use of School Facilities. These projects range widely from large-scale planning to build a complete community centre over a period of years to modest requests to equip a gymnasium, a craft centre or a playground for use by the community outside of school hours. The most comprehensive

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[10]King, Ray and Watson, Ken (eds.): "Parental Involvement in Australian Schools: A Follow-Up Study". Sydney, Hills Education Study Group, Sydney 1976.

proposal is for the Huntingdale Technical School in Victoria which is beginning a major experiment in community involvement. A strong Parents' Council has been involved in planning the proposal which includes a joint school/community library, foreign languages and migrant English classes, close liaison with local industry and the Municipal Council, use of the school facilities at night by the Arts Council and other community groups, holiday activities run by youth leaders and community volunteers, and plans for the school to run a small fleet of buses to take students on excursions and visits. Funding has been provided for professional and clerical staff and equipment to help the educational objectives to be achieved. The Keysborough Parish Community Centre in Victoria is a similar project involving the planning of a community/education complex for approximately four thousand families for their use outside school hours in a school-oriented situation. The Centre will include an integrated complex of pre-school, primary and secondary school with accommodation for old people. A project manager has been employed by the Programme to maximize the use of buildings and facilities by designing them for use by the community outside school hours and to integrate education around a common centre with experience of all age groups easily available. An example of a smaller project is a creche which has been set up in one school as a service to both staff and parents of students. This is in a disadvantaged area where many students are required to stay home to mind younger children while their single parent or both parents work. At least three of these projects were initiated by parents.

School Use of Community Resources. Half of the projects in this category involve funds to subsidize the cost of excursions or to buy a school bus both for handicapped children and for schools in predominantly isolated and deprived learning environments. Excursions cover a wide range of educational, social and recreational purposes, including rural/urban exchanges, visits to factories, farms and rural industries; field studies related to geography, biology, social science, local history and economics; and the use of community recreational facilities. In South Australia a school has appointed a Director of School-Community Relationships whose duties are to arrange regular programmes of visits by students to places and resource centres outside of the school, liaise with parents, employers and resource people, organize work experience programmes, work for maximum use of school facilities by individuals and community organizations, and negotiate reciprocal arrangements for use of community resources by students. In Victoria, Daylesford Technical High School is preparing a catalogue of municipal library services to enable high school students to make efficient use of the facilities offered by the municipal library. Three students at St. Aloysius' College, Adelaide, have initiated a project to develop an oral history resource section compiled by students from taped interviews with senior citizens who have experienced recent major historical developments such as World Wars and the Depression. A task force group called Community Service Volunteers is being funded to co-ordinate and support community service work in schools. Programmes involve students in studies of their local area, its needs and the way its community interacts. This leads to decisions on which community projects students can operate and creates social awareness. The fifty children enrolled at Togari, Hobart, spend very little of their time in the school base (an old

house at Battery Point), but instead use the community's libraries, museums, galleries, government departments, travel bureaus, business houses, schools, colleges and outdoors.

Providing Information and Liaison Between School and Community. Included in this category are projects for learning exchanges, resource centres, liaison officers and information services. Proposals initiated by groups outside of schools to establish or expand resource centres with specialized functions include an Environment Centre which will research, record and supply information, operate a data bank and inform and liaise with the community; an Instrumental Music Resource Centre which will establish a central library for string music in order to serve the needs of all string teachers and students in schools in the area and to provide an educational resource in the community for use in leisure time; and an Arts and Crafts Resource Centre which will contain a library of slides and prints of a variety of arts and crafts. Learning Exchanges have been funded in the Australian Capital Territory and in Victoria to disseminate information and provide access to facilities — people, places and materials — for people wishing to pursue interests. Communication is by newsletters and a telephone enquiry service. Similar projects have been attached to other facilities, e.g. the Diamond Valley Learning Centre in Victoria which also offers community arts and crafts, exam-oriented classes for women, and a teacher resource centre. Two ongoing publications are receiving funds, including the Education Subscription Service in Victoria which collects data and keeps contact with groups involved in education, disseminating the information to those interested. Other publications include a guide to the learning resources in the Public Service which has been published to make people in schools and the community aware that the Public Service can be part of the learning network being developed in Australia and to encourage people to use the resources of the Public Service — visiting speakers, libraries, films and publications.[11] Another project aims to develop a selection of material for kits designed to produce teacher, school, parent and community co-operation in educational ventures. The Fremantle Community School (W.A.) has received funds for a mobile classroom which consists of a double-decker bus. The bus is parked in the main street of a busy town each day and the public are invited to join the students at their lessons. The project involves workshops, creative drama, communication and media courses and aims at true community interaction. More than a third of projects in this category were initiated by groups or individuals outside of school.

Ethnic Community Projects. These projects are particularly concerned with language development in Aboriginal and migrant children and include programmes of language enrichment through bi-lingual and bi-cultural elements in the classroom involving parents in adult education classes and as resource people. The production of reading materials in Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory is designed to involve the community, develop

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[11]Walters, Rosemary: "In the Pub: A Guide to Learning Resources in the Public Service (ACT)". Canberra, Progress Press, 1976.

competency in reading and writing the vernacular as well as English, and develop the children's esteem and pride in both cultures. Two Ukrainian ethnic associations have applied for funds for learning programmes designed to foster Australian understanding of Ukrainian culture, which it is hoped will lead to more stable parent-child relationships amongst Ukrainian migrants.

A further four major categories are work experience programmes, projects which open the school to students after hours, environment and conservation studies, and projects which involve the use of audio-visual equipment or film-making in education. Some of the categories overlap, and some projects have multiple aims and could be classed under several headings. One of the most exciting comprehensive projects is the Educational Smorgasbord which involves the growth of community involvement for people of all ages within the north-east corner of New South Wales. Resources, resource people and resource places, public and private, have been developed as a growing network. Communication within this network has become increasingly efficient, the complexity of retrieval has been appreciated and needy people everywhere have been helped to a more rewarding life. The smorgasbord of materials and people provide a rich array from which children can make a choice of relevant data in seeking a solution to some individual problem. At the other end of the scale is a modest request for $200 so that a parent can educate her children at home. The project involves the demonstration of the feasibility and desirability of home-based education as a viable alternative to institutionalized education and the model will provide a discussion point for other parents and teachers interested in this alternative.

In this analysis projects have been considered from the written submissions made by the school or individual concerned to the Special Projects (Innovations) Programme. No attempt has been made at this stage to evaluate either the aims, the methods or the outcome of the projects, however, a condition for the acceptance of each proposal includes a written report on its completion. An extensive programme of external evaluation for the whole Programme is about to be embarked on and by the end of 1976 there should be some indication of the success or otherwise of projects which have been operating for some time.

Professor Johnson, in his paper on the 1976-78 Report which was presented to the Tasmanian Chapter of the College of Education in 1975, remarked on the particular effect of the Innovations section of the Special Projects Programme. "From the first moves of the Interim Committee with its special funding for innovations, I think it fair to say that a new breath came into Australian education."[12] The Innovations Programme has provided more opportunity for drawing schools closer to their communities than has been possible in any other Programme. It has also drawn out of the community a commitment to schools that has not been seen previously in Australia.

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[12]Johnson, R. St.C.: "The Schools Commission and the Wider Community". Paper presented at the third residential weekend conference of the Tasmanian Chapter of the Australian College of Education, July 1975.

Special Projects (Special Fields of Activity) Programme

Apart from the Innovations Section of the Programme, funds have been set aside for the specific study of school-community interaction. In addition, strategies for increasing community involvement are encouraged in specific study areas such as education for country children, Aborigines, migrants and girls.

The principal goals of the school-community study are to assist in the development of the quality and quantity of school-community interaction, and to clarify the specific methods by which the Commonwealth Government can assist these developments. Specific activities in 1976 include information-gathering, research and the direct or indirect stimulation, development and support of activities in schools and community groups. Unfortunately the staff ceilings imposed on the Public Service have made it impossible to recruit staff to carry out these activities in more than a minimal way. However, it is proposed that special grants will be made to two education institutions to undertake studies which will identify, describe and disseminate successful examples of the involvement of the community in the work of the school, and identify specific ways in which support can be given to schools and education authorities to allow the implementation of activities aimed at breaking down the barriers between the school and the community. In addition, work is continuing in the Commission on the preparation of a handbook on school-community interaction in Australia, which will follow the recent publication of the Bibliography on the School in the Community.[13]

In the field of Aboriginal education the Commission is encouraging projects which are aimed at increasing the involvement of Aboriginal people in education. The Aboriginal Consultative Group, established in 1975, is widely representative and has conducted consultations with leaders of Aboriginal communities in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, and been involved in similar consultations in Queensland Aboriginal communities. Funds are available for the support of an Aboriginal Consultative Group in each State.

In the area of the education of girls, the Commission will support seminars/workshops for key people from schools and community groups working in this field, to assist administrators, teachers, parents and students to recognize and examine the covert and overt influences which restrict the life options of both boys and girls, thus enabling decisions regarding these options to be made consciously on the basis of understanding.

General Influence of the Commission

Apart from the effects of efforts to increase school-community interaction within Programme areas, there has been an overall effect through the widespread consultation undertaken by the Commission in the development and administration of its Programmes. The Australian Council of State

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[13]Randell, S. K. and Turnbull, J. M.: Op. cit.

School Organizations has commented that one of the great differences evident in Australian Government administration before and after 1972 is the provision for increased involvement of the school community — parents, teachers and administrators — in the decision-making processes at national, state, regional and local levels.

> "Prior to 1973 the Federal Education Department and the Australian Education Council rarely sought the views of parent organizations. Since 1973 the Department has included parent organization members on several committees of enquiry. It has worked toward establishing the consensus view of the total school community as the basis for advice to the Federal Minister for Education . . . Indeed the broadly based committee structure recommended and to a large extent being implemented in Schools Commission Programmes has been a lighthouse for increased and effective decentralization of authority to the school community."[14]

Parents' and teachers' organizations have been particularly supportive of the developments taking place in Australian schools. The recent efficient campaign which culminated in the attendance of 1,600 to 2,000 parents and teachers from all States and Territories at a mass rally in Canberra bears witness to this.

Problems and Prospects

The funds recommended by the Schools Commission to the Commonwealth Government for education in primary and secondary schools are a minor proportion of the total expenditure on schools in Australia. However, the amount is significant, because it provides most of the funds needed for remedying deficiencies, stimulating change and encouraging development. It is evident that Programmes funded by the Commission have assisted to a degree the progress that has been made since 1974 towards bringing schools and their communities closer together and allowing teachers, students and parents to make decisions on the kind of education going on in their schools. However there are a number of constraints and tensions influencing the rate and degree of progress possible which need to be examined.

Despite the example and encouragement of the Commission to move decision-making closer to school level, in general State Ministers and their departments have not been able to introduce similar decision-making structures into their organizations or take initiatives to make any recurrent programme visible or shared at the school community level. For example, the 90 per cent of Commission funds allocated to States for capital and recurrent expenditure are still largely distributed on the decision of a minority of administrators in central offices.[15] The entrenched procedures developed in centralized bureaucratic structures are resistant to change.

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[14]ACCSO submission to Administrative Review Committee, 1976.

[15]A marked exception to this is the recent development in Victoria where there has been a change in the total structure of decision-making for priority buildings works using both State and Commission funds. A community component is built in at local, district, regional and state levels of decision-making.

Furthermore, decentralizing the structure of departments does not necessarily increase the degree of decision-making possible in schools. Although administrative machinery does often decide how much participation can take place, it is possible, for example, to have regionalization that is merely an extension of bureaucratic administration. Paradoxically, in a centralized system a school may have more independence in certain respects than in a decentralized system. When control is situated at a position remote from the school it is difficult to engage in detailed supervision at the local level and in practice there could be more freedom. Local participation could lead to more obstructionism and control of day-to-day work. In addition, school councils could be taken over by people totally unrepresentative of the majority of parents in the school community. They may have as much difficulty in perceiving and adequately representing the needs and aspirations of the other members of the community as do those who already have bureaucratic or professional control of education. Even where councils are representative there is still a tendency to make all important decisions in the professional groups and not involve parents in the mainstream of decision-making.

Another significant problem is the attitudes of teachers and parents towards community involvement in schools. Although all parent and teacher organizations in Australia now espouse community involvement in their official policies, the majority of case studies examined by the Commission indicates a low incidence of school-community interaction in Australian schools.[16] Teachers vary in the extent to which they feel their professional status is threatened and resist any interference on how or what they teach. Parents expect schools to take the initiative in parent-teacher contact, lack confidence and tend to react to what they know from experience, assuming the roles their own parents had in relation to schools. Education of both teachers and parents in the particular skills needed for increased school-community interaction is essential.

Special legislation can help to protect some of the initiatives commenced in school-community interaction and even to allow them to begin in some areas. Queensland is currently preparing special legislation to cover the use of buildings by community groups and provide legal safeguards for Parents' and Citizens' Associations in the event of accidents involving the use of facilities outside normal school hours. Victoria has passed legislation to allow school councils to employ ancillary staff. Alternative schools face particular problems in this regard which can only be solved by legislative action or changes in policies or procedures. Tickell[17] has pointed out that departmental policies on the supervision of students are more cautious than those adopted by a "reasonable" parent. Teachers' Registration Boards prevent the employment of practising artists, writers, actors and native speakers of languages not normally taught in secondary schools.

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[16]See, for example, Fitzgerald, R. T., Musgrave, P. W. and Pettit, D. W.: "School and Neighbourhood: A Case Study", *Australian Education Review*, 7 (1 and 2), 1974; and Adams, Mel and Lloyd-Wright, Corinne: *"Who's Involved?"* NSWTF/SAIT study of community involvement in Sydney and Adelaide, 1976.

[17]Tickell, Gerry: "Problems of Alternative Schools", *Education Subscription Service Magazine*, 13 : 8, 9, February 1976.

Aspects of the Commission's Programmes have caused confrontation and tension between administrators, teachers and parents over various issues. While tension can very often be productive in causing careful examination of issues and eventually lowering anxieties, unresolved conflict can also be destructive. Conflict increases for principals who have loyalties both to boards and to the system.

Since its inception the Innovations section of the Special Projects Programme has drawn considerable comment. On the one hand it has been seen to be the most effective way to stimulate participation at all levels of the school system, and on the other there have been suggestions that it involves duplication of resources. Some people, on the basis of very limited information, have been critical that a few of the projects have appeared trivial or ineffective. Undoubtedly some projects will be branded as failures, however the insights and information they provide could be valuable contributions to future directions in education. In fact it could be argued that in the long term the kind of waste which occurs as people in schools learn to handle resources will produce the greatest efficiency in the use of educational funds. However in times of economic crisis it is the "risk" programmes that are most susceptible to cutbacks.

There are various objections to devolution of responsibility and community involvement in schools in both principle and practice. The desire of parents in large numbers to participate in schools is still problematic and present moves could be viewed as merely a mild restoring of the balance. In the long term, "working wives" may conceivably lead to less active participation of parents in schools; providing they can choose among schools the majority of parents may be content to leave schooling to the professionals. Critics of community involvement fear that vested interests could gain control of schools and there could be a reversion to reactionary teaching strategies and student discipline procedures. They argue that greater participation could lead to a deterioration in the standards of education, harm educational equality and take education from the hands of the professional educators. They also point to a possible conflict between parents' rights and students' rights: students may not wish parents to be involved in the school. Some parents object to untrained parents in classrooms. Participation is seen by some to increase the amount of creative time taken up arranging and holding meetings, to distract the institution from its primary business and to promote polarization.

There is still insufficient research and feedback about the effects of participation at the various levels of decision-making and the kind of processes that are most effective in bringing participation about.[18] There are some exciting examples of community involvement in schools and school involvement in communities throughout Australia. These need to be analyzed to identify the significant factors which are facilitating the interaction. Because

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[18]Recent OECD studies that have made a significant contribution to the debate include: *Participatory Planning in Education*, Paris, OECD, 1974; *School and Community*: a report based on presentations made to a conference at Slaugham, United Kingdom, 15-19 October 1973; Paris, OECD, 1975.

the effects of participation can be delayed the specific causes of positive effects are often difficult to identify. However the majority of the Commission's Programmes have now been operating long enough for global evaluation activities to begin to indicate which are the most effective processes. Self-evaluation reports on individual innovations projects should also provide valuable indicative material.

Community involvement and devolution of responsibility can be seen either as predominantly aspects of extended participatory democracy or as means of improving parent and teacher co-operation for the assistance of the child. The indicators and measures to be used for evaluation are rather different depending on which position is taken. Clarification of the concepts in Australian society will, it is hoped, come out of the various thrusts made by the Commission and others in the whole area of school-community interaction.

It is my view that there should be different kinds of involvement for different groups of people, and how much they want to be part of it will depend on the persons themselves. Personalities and processes are of great significance in the success or failure of school-community interaction and in particular, the effects of different training techniques for participants and different processes of interaction need to be teased out and analyzed. The final measure of the value of increasing community participation in schools and school use of community resources will be the quality of education each child receives in Australian schools.

"NEW WORLD IN THE MORNING?"

K. G. Rowlands

"Education, like politics, is too much influenced by slogans. Certain phrases or words become fashionable from time to time and they may have a powerful influence on policy, and then they fade away in popularity."

John D. Nisbet,
"Innovation — Bandwagon or Hearse?",
Frank Tate Memorial Lecture,
University of Melbourne,
3rd July, 1974.

Ideas Powerful for Change

When a crisis situation arises the time is ripe, not merely for a spate of new words and phrases, but for the surfacing of a whole new pattern of ideas in the mainstream of public discussion and debate. The crisis generates a widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the previously accepted set of ideas-in-good-currency. The new ideas which emerge in this way have usually been around for quite a long time. The new thing about them is a perception of their potential as instruments of change and their development as vehicles by which individuals and organisations gain power. The life cycle of these ideas can seldom be described in terms of rational processes. They have a mythology and a pathology of their own. In the absence of information about these underlying and largely hidden factors the manifest phenomena of their emergence, their span of acceptance, and their disappearance, form a virtually unintelligible sequence of events.[1]

There was a growing sense of crisis in relation to Australian schools during the five or six years before the appointment of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission on 12th December, 1972. The report of the Interim Committee (Karmel Report) was submitted to Parliament on 18th May, 1973, and with its acceptance a comprehensive pattern of new educational concepts achieved the status of ideas-in-good-currency.[2] So it was that a bright new bandwagon commenced its perilous journey into the unknown. Many of the educational concepts thus endorsed were derived from "disadvantage models" and employed the phraseology customarily used for the formulation of those models. A vast interwoven pattern was developed around the themes of the "socio-economic disadvantage model", the "female disadvantage model", the "ethnic groups disadvantage model", the "religious groups disadvantage model", and the "country pupils disadvantage model".

The major *disadvantaged groups* which exist within the Australian community were thus identified and policy was directed towards methods of overcoming their disadvantages. They were groups whose educational progress was limited by barriers of low socio-economic status, by sexist

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[1]Schon, D. A.: *Beyond the Stable State*. Penguin, Aust.; 1973, pp. 115-133.

[2]Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission: *Schools in Australia*, Aust. Govt. Publishing Service, Canberra, A.C.T., 1973.

barriers, by ethnic barriers, by barriers of religious prejudice and by barriers of remote location. Some of these barriers were particularly evident in certain schools. It had been known for a long time that schools in inner suburban areas tended to be old and dilapidated, with inadequate playgrounds, serious staff shortages, and lack of modern educational facilities. Likewise there were schools which appeared to discriminate unfairly against girls, schools with large numbers of students whose parents were recently arrived migrants, schools run by religious orders with inadequate funding, and schools where the tyranny of distance denied access to desirable educational resources. Attempts to rectify this situation had been sporadic and piece-meal, but now it became a matter of policy to identify such *disadvantaged schools*, to determine their needs, and to make adequate funds available for their transformation.

The word "transformation" has been used deliberately, since the underlying principle was to be one of *positive discrimination*. Implied in this was a concept of compensatory education, i.e. "attempting to compensate to some extent through schooling for unequal out-of-school situations in order to ensure the child's overall condition of upbringing is as free of restrictions due to the circumstances of his family as public action through the schools can make it".[3] This represented a big departure from the concept of equality of educational opportunity which implied equal treatment for those of equal ability and had long been upheld as the embodiment of true democracy. The new idea which was being promoted into good currency through the distinguished sponsorship of a great name was quite different. It implied *unequal treatments in order to achieve more equal outcomes*. It involved a different criterion for equality which was difficult to expound in any consistent way. In the definitive document the exposition varied considerably from advocating a policy of unequal treatment, both in the allocation of funds and the methods of teaching and learning, to striking a balance between the ideal of equal outcomes and the need to recognize the uniqueness of each individual. Despite the theoretical difficulty of consistent interpretation and the practical difficulty of implementation when the criterion is so difficult to define and so ill-adapted to any known technique of measurement, it was considered to be a genuine embodiment of socialist ideals.

> "Socialism seeks to combine universal principles of equality and fraternity. Deprivation is defined by socialists as the remediable denial to any individual or group of either of these values. For socialists the mark of a civilised society is neither its wealth nor its economic efficiency, but rather its practical realisation of fellowship and care for the weakest. Recognising the endemic and inescapable facts of inequality and limited generosity that human beings are heir to, socialism pursues public policies of positive discrimination."[4]

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[3]Ibid. (2.7), p. 11.

[4]Halsey, A. H.: Review of the British Black Papers in the *London Guardian*. Quoted in the *Age*, Melb., 18-6-75.

If it could be assumed that there are roughly the same proportion of academically gifted individuals in each social group then equality of outcomes could be judged by the extent to which all groups are represented in the cohort of students who successfully complete the full secondary course and qualify for entry to a tertiary institution. The criterion could then be raised as required, e.g. to mean equal representation in all tertiary courses, or equal representation in the professions, or in all positions of status and responsibility within the community. Although the Karmel Report warned of the dangers of a simple minded effort to achieve equal average outcomes among all social groups this is the way in which it was generally interpreted. It is to be expected that for a long time to come there will be much confused thinking and discussion arising from the effort to substitute "equality of outcomes" for "equality of opportunity" as the goal of educational policy.

One further concept which must be noted in the list of ideas powerful for change was that of *innovation*, which was defined as "the creation of change by the introduction of something new". In the light of the grants awarded under the scheme it would appear that an innovation was any proposed development which appeared to be a suitable vehicle for implementing the newly installed set of ideas-in-good-currency. It did not have to be original or capable of evaluation. It did not have to be based on the findings of well-authenticated research. On the contrary, it must preferably have the aura of the anti-scientific about it, as befits a creature which draws its life-blood from mythology. It springs into being from the head of some modern day Zeus without any of the slow, painful, evolutionary struggles which are the common lot of those who accept the world of harsh and stubborn facts. Innovations partake of a more ethereal quality. They are the fellow-travellers of ideas-in-good-currency. They have a parallel pathology. They are not born, but emerge fully formed and ready for active application. They have an uncertain life-span and when fate knocks on the door they do not die but slip away unnoticed to some resting place where they wait for the next call of the fickle goddess of fashion.

This is a model of educational change which undoubtedly has its appeal, but it also has very serious limitations. It is built on a pattern of concepts which, together with the principle of diversity expressed through local autonomy, can provide a basis for coherent educational changes in the desired direction. At the time of writing, the ideas-in-good-currency which provide the guidelines for unprecedented educational expenditures were as follows:

(i) Disadvantaged groups;

(ii) Disadvantaged schools;

(iii) Positive discrimination;

(iv) Equality of outcomes rather than equality of opportunity;

(v) Unequal treatments to produce equal outcomes;

(vi) Innovation.

Strategies of Change

The strengths and weaknesses of the model outlined in the previous section may be illustrated by considering the innovations programme. This appeared to be a clear attempt to uphold the principle of diversity by encouraging individual initiative at the grass roots level. Certainly it could be expected to generate unequal treatments but only in a random sort of way. How could such an unusual procedure be harnessed to produce any effective outcomes? What purpose could be served by generating a variety of tiny changes in all sorts of random directions? One way in which a strategy of this type could be made to work would be by the application of the principle of artificial selection. A good analogy can be drawn from the field of genetic engineering where radio-activity can be used to produce mutations in the genetic structure of existing species. The vast majority of these mutations will be detrimental. Only a few will yield changes in the desired direction but these can be cultivated while the others are allowed to die out. The principle is a useful one for those who have a fixed concept of desirable change and at the same time claim to be tolerant of all kinds of variations from traditional educational procedures.

This type of bureaucratic planning achieves its ends by holding out a series of rewards for which all may strive but only some may succeed. It engenders in the planners a state of mind which has been aptly described by Nisbet as the "pretence of omniscience",[5] and by Musgrave as the "divine intention".[6] Operating within this frame of reference desirable responses can be reinforced and undesirable ones can be strongly discouraged. The old technique of carrots and sticks receives a new lease of life. The professional planner imposes his enlightened will on the overall direction of change and master-minds the operation with effortless ease. The carrots and sticks are represented by the granting or withholding of funds. Even research ceases to be concerned with the discovery of truth because of its overwhelming pre-occupation with the pursuit of the necessary funds for its own continued existence. This is a form of corruption so insidious that its full import is difficult to grasp, but the technique is beautiful in its simplicity and effectiveness. It has been brilliantly described by Schon as an application of Skinner's method of teaching pigeons to play ping-pong.

> ". . . the trainer first elicits behaviour by setting up a situation in which the subject is moved, by fear of punishment or hope of reward, to improvise; the desired behaviour is then selected and progressively stamped in by continuing reward, while punishment eliminates undesirable behaviour . . .
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> It is as though Skinner were to train a thousand pigeons widely dispersed throughout the country."[7]

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[5]Nisbet, J. D.: "Innovation — Bandwagon or Hearse?". *The Bulletin of the Victorian Institute of Educational Research*, 33, Nov. 1974, p. 5.

[6]Musgrave, P. W.: "Education as an Active Agent in Changing Society". *Unicorn*, 1, 1, March 1975, p. 24.

[7]Schon, D. A.: Op. cit., p. 138.

Musgrave wryly comments:

> ". . . the new task is of the type for which any bureaucracy is ideally adapted, namely the division of material resources between competing applicants. Power returns to the administrator to be exercised on a type of decision in which bureaucracies exhibit great efficiency."[8]

Unfortunately for the planners they are not dealing with pigeons or with irradiated plants. Sooner or later there is disillusionment. Questions are asked as to why this project received a generous grant while that one was rejected. Articles are published with titles which imply scathing criticism of the integrity of the scheme and its administrators. The undesirable behaviour of the rejectees is not eliminated. Instead of "seeing the light" they become increasingly resentful, increasingly vocal, and increasingly critical. "The Schools Commission Grants Game. How NOT to Get a Guernsey!" is the sort of publicity that clearly marks the onset of disillusionment.[9] It could be the beginning of a vicious downhill spiral into the vortex. There is a strife of tongues as the back-lash develops. A running around in ever smaller circles as popular opinion homes in on a suitable victim. Some person or institution is brought into focus as the chief begetter of the trouble. After the witch-hunt comes the retribution and society settles down again in the secure belief that justice has not only been done but has been seen to be done,—"pour encourager les autres". This is no flight of fancy. The recent history of education abounds with similar instances. When a crisis occurs blame must be apportioned for low standards, increasing illiteracy, bad behaviour in public places, vandalism, undisciplined students, militant teachers, waste of the taxpayers' money, or any one of a few dozen other things which are just waiting in the wings ready to take the centre of the stage with all the spotlights of unfavourable publicity focused upon them.

The best way to obtain an appreciation of the irrationality of the process is by considering instances in which we have no personal involvement. One such occurred in the Province of Ontario, Canada, soon after the system of public examinations in that Province had been abolished. It so happened that there was a popular outcry about the bad behaviour of school students using public transport, sparked off by some specific incident. The Bill to provide recurrent grants for institutions of higher education was before the Provincial Assembly at the time. It would normally have passed with little more than a rubber-stamping procedure, but now a scapegoat had to be found. The irate members had little trouble in linking the bad behaviour of school students with the abolition of public examinations and of linking the latter with the work of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The result was that the Institute's budget was severely pruned, thereby crippling its activities and endangering its position as a top ranking institution in the world of educational research.

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[8]Musgrave, P. W.: Op. cit., p. 25.

[9]Murray, D.: "The Schools Commission Grants Game. How NOT to Get a Guernsey!". *ACES Review*, 2, 1, Oct.-Nov. 1974, pp. 3-5.

Developments of this type are always liable to happen. They are inevitable but seldom predictable. The unknown factor may be a news hungry sub-editor who decides to sensationalize a fairly common incident which would otherwise be overlooked. Since there is no way of knowing when or how the apparently innocuous first moves will be taken, nor how quickly the full scale witch-hunt will develop, it is essential that the strategy of change must have the built-in resilience which can cope with the situation when it does arise. An obvious way of achieving this is to base the strategy on a strong model, i.e. one which has survived the most rigorous kind of testing without displaying any signs of breakdown. Such a model cannot be derived from superficial thinking and the passing vagaries of fashion. The trouble is that in planning the strategies of change it is so easy to become caught up with transitory and passing issues. Once this happens the planner becomes incapable of realizing that there is a perspective which is both broader and deeper. In the wave of enthusiasm to overcome various types of disadvantage by "unequal treatments aimed at equalising outcomes" it is easy to lose sight of the universal and lasting principles of freedom, justice and equality. The "divine intention" is held to justify intrusions upon freedom, dubious interpretations of justice, and the standing of equality upon its head. These "caricature concepts" are sometimes alleged to be derived from the writings of the late R. H. Tawney in such works as: "Equality", "The Acquisitive Society", and "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism". Yet Tawney was well aware of the necessity for avoiding the lure of superficial and fashionable thought and of the need to return again and again to the contemplation of universal and lasting principles. This is well illustrated by the passage from Bishop Berkeley which he reproduced on the title page of "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism".

> "Whatever the world thinks, he who hath not much meditated upon God, the human mind, and the summum bonum, may possibly make a thriving earthworm, but will most indubitably make a sorry patriot and a sorry statesman."

The basic requirement for an effective strategy of change is that it should be derived from a strong model. Such a model rests on universal and lasting principles and is geared to the dynamics of change, the need for adaptation, and the ultimate problem of survival. Nisbet has pointed out that there are three other things required to ensure that the strategy is not destroyed by the onset of disillusionment and confusion with their inevitable but unpredictable consequences. These are: support, involvement and evaluation.[10] It is essential to build a suitable infrastructure if the morale of teachers is to be sustained in the face of a strategy which demands the abandonment of many long-established procedures. There should be resource centres with the personnel required to operate them. Teachers must also be educated in the proper use of the available resources. Principals need to delegate some of their managerial and public relations functions in order to take more responsibility for the curriculum. The use of specialized

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[10]Nisbet, J. D.: Op. cit., p. 8.

consultants is also suggested, provided they realize that their job is to strengthen the schools' capacity for change, not to tell them what to do.

The full involvement of the teachers in any strategy of change will help to overcome the destruction of confidence and the onset of anxiety. Despite the need for the full participation of staff in decision making and planning we are only beginning to understand the problems in trying to achieve it. The Karmel Report laid down the following pre-conditions for success:

(i) recognition of the need for change;
(ii) knowledge of alternatives;
(iii) congenial organisational climate.[11]

Nisbet summed up the situation with the comment, "There are obviously problems in providing teachers with the freedom to pursue their own ideas and their own initiative, and yet to incorporate this freedom within a responsible structure of an education service. There are even greater problems in securing the involvement of parents, . . . The problem is that parents are generally a conservative — even reactionary — influence in education. I suspect that here we are up against a crisis in society, something far beyond the scope of the school, whether one calls it 'the generation gap' or 'the crisis in authority', a fear of loss of control over the powerful forces of youth."[12]

Many who are keen to bring about educational change are strongly opposed to any kind of evaluation of their work. This leaves them open to the suspicion that what they are really interested in is not so much constructive change as mounting a protest against the establishment. The problem is not whether evaluation is necessary but what kind of evaluation and who should do it. There is much to be said for continuous, on-going evaluation, built into every stage of the programme. Sooner or later those in charge of the new developments will be called to account. If they are to meet the challenge with confidence they must be in a position to state clearly what has been done and what results have been achieved. The availability of such information can be a good safeguard against the growth of anxiety and confusion which so easily generates a back-lash and works itself out in a witch-hunt. Any strategy of change which is not alert to and well armed against, such a possibility is almost certainly a recipe for failure.

Passing Fashions or Lasting Principles

The necessity for on-going evaluation, built into every stage of the programme, may sound like the most ordinary commonsense — a precaution against some future day of reckoning. Of course, it is, but it is much more than that because it constantly draws attention to the weaknesses of the

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[11]Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission: Op. cit. (12.4), p. 126.
[12]Nisbet, J. D.: Op. cit., p. 11.

original model. If this leads to modifications of the model it may eventually become transformed into one on which great reliance can be placed as a guide to effective action. This implies feed-back of error to correct the model until there is convergence on an accurate representation of reality. Strategies of major educational change have very little chance of ultimate success unless they are derived from models of this type. Educational systems more than most other social phenomena illustrate the power of dynamic conservatism which operates to resist change with an energy which is roughly proportional to the radicalness of that change.[13]

The problem of implementing continuous evaluation and the feed-back of error to correct the model is an insoluble one when discussion seldom rises above the level of currently popular slogans and catch-cries. The ideas-in-good-currency are vague and subject to a great variety of interpretations. There is an emotional appeal about the identification of disadvantaged groups and the application of positive discrimination to overcome their disadvantages and achieve equality of outcomes. It sounds as though all that is needed in order to convert a "bad" school into a "good" school is a kind of missionary zeal backed up with plenty of money. These things do help but it cannot be assumed that attempts to improve the "quality" of schools are going to have much effect on outcomes. The results of several important longitudinal studies in the United States have recently been published and they indicate that the task of producing any notable change of outcomes is very much more difficult than most people appear to imagine. The following quotation sums up the findings of Project Talent (a longitudinal study which commenced in 1960 with 12,000 ninth grade students in 91 representative high schools):

> "On the basis of these analyses, we conclude that sweeping generalisations about 'good' and 'bad' high schools are bound to be misleading. Among these white comprehensive public high schools, the estimated effectiveness of a given high school will vary dramatically according to the measure of success one chooses to emphasise. Very few schools rank high on all the measures used in this investigation, and very few rank low on all of them. High schools that are unusually effective in boosting student performance on one standardised test are only marginally more effective than average in getting their students to finish high school, attend college, graduate from college, or enter high status occupations. . . .
>
> "Per student expenditure has a small and statistically insignificant effect on both educational and occupational attainment. . . . The percentage of experienced teachers and teachers with masters' degrees has little effect on educational attainment or on female occupational attainment, but it seems to boost male occupational status and career plans to a statistically significant extent.

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[13]Rowlands, R. G.: "The Chief Barrier to Large-Scale Life-Long Learning". In *Towards the Learning Society*, Australian College of Education, Melb., 1975.

"Large classes appear to have positive effects on all measures. . . . Their direction is precisely the opposite to what teachers and administrators assume."[14]

Similar findings were reported from the 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS) which investigated 160 school characteristics in a representative sample of 630 high schools:

"We therefore conclude that the 160 school characteristics measured by the EEOS had no consistent effect either on changes in Mean Achievement between ninth and twelfth grades or on Mean Educational Attainment."[15]

A major factor in any discussion of these results is the influence of a composite measure known as socio-economic status (SES). In the American studies that have been quoted the SES was derived from:

"father's occupation, father's education, mother's education, family income, books in the home, appliances in the home, TV sets and radios in the home, the value of the home, and whether the student has his or her own room."[16]

It is difficult to sum up the impact of SES or to describe briefly how its effects have been unscrambled from those due to measures of school quality in these studies. The authors state their conclusions as follows:

"So far as we can discover, SES has no significant effect on cognitive growth between ninth and twelfth grades, at least for the six Talent tests we investigated. This means that equalising high school quality cannot reduce the correlation between SES and twelfth grade scores. SES does have a substantial effect on eventual educational attainment, even after all other ninth grade traits have been controlled. . . . The gap is as large when high- and low-SES students attend the same high school as when they attend different schools. This means that equalising high school quality would not reduce inequality of educational opportunity for low-SES students."[17]

The index of inequality of outcomes is the ratio of the dispersion of outcomes to the average outcome, i.e. of the standard deviation to the mean. It follows that the reduction of inequality depends on increasing the mean and/or decreasing the standard deviation of the measured outcomes. The authors are not very optimistic about the possibilities of achieving notable changes:

"We have already discussed the difficulties in identifying high school policies that will raise mean test scores, educational attainment, or occupational status. It is equally difficult to reduce the dispersion

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[14]Jencks, C. S. and Brown, M. D.: "Effects of High Schools on Their Students". *Harvard Educational Review*, 45, 3, August 1975, pp. 311-318.

[15]Ibid., p. 319.

[16]Ibid., p. 278.

[17]Ibid., p. 322.

of these outcomes. As we have seen, high school quality accounts for only 1.0 to 3.4 percent of the variance in twelfth grade test scores, 0.2 to 2.4 percent of the variance in educational attainment, and 2.5 to 4.8 percent of the variance in occupational status and career plans. This means that even if we knew how to eliminate all disparities in high school quality, which we clearly do not, we could reduce the standard deviations of these outcomes by only one or two percent. Assuming the mean remained constant, this would imply a one or two percent reduction in the ratio of the standard deviation to the mean, and hence in inequality. . . .

"For those who want to alter not only symbols and feelings but individual outcomes, the data suggest a shift in emphasis from differences among high schools to differences within high schools. . . . Our data do not tell us whether schools can reduce such variation much less how they can do so, but the data do show that progress on this front is potentially far more important than progress in reducing differences between schools."[18]

In a footnote it is pointed out that schools actually try to increase the variance in scores and that this helps explain the negligible effect that increasing school resources has on decreasing inequality of outcomes. In Australia, the simultaneous pursuit of policies of equality and diversity might result in an increasing dispersion of outcomes tending to counteract any improvement of means which might be achieved, thus resulting in a net growth of inequality. The encouragement of a more open approach to the curriculum and current developments in the direction of individualised learning, with each student following his own bent and proceeding at his own pace, are likely to increase the inequality of educational outcomes much more rapidly than policies of positive discrimination are likely to decrease them.

Some Australian Studies

The combined TEEP/TAP project in Victoria has yielded quite a lot of information which is relevant to the present discussion. A particularly important aspect of this has been the survey of SES differences within schools as well as SES differences between schools. The measures of educational performance at twelfth grade are:

(i) Scores in the Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test (ASAT).

(ii) Scores in the Australian Test of Written Expression (ATWE).

(iii) Examiners' marks in the individual subjects of the Higher School Certificate examination together with the "best four" aggregate mark.

(iv) Teachers' assessments of the quality of work done by their students in the individual subjects of the Higher School Certificate course together with the "best four" aggregrate of these assessments.

[18]Ibid., pp. 323-324.

In the follow-up study, measures of educational performance at tertiary level are becoming available for students who participated in the project and entered a Victorian tertiary institution. Unfortunately no information is available concerning educational performance at ninth grade level. The only thing known for certain was that the drop-out rate for Victoria was higher than for America and therefore the Victorian sample was a more select one. There are other reasons why the comparison of results must be viewed with caution. The American measures of educational performance were obtained from standardised tests and the only measures of comparable type in the Victorian study were the ASAT scores. Another important difference was that the American studies used a composite measure for SES in which fathers' occupation was only one element. In the Victorian study, SES was equated with fathers' occupation, using the Australian Scale of Socio-Economic Level to establish the ranking. Some teachers criticised this on the ground that the occupation of farmer was in the top SES group regardless of the fact that many farmers are very poor.

When all these points have been taken into account the Victorian results for within schools SES are still highly relevant. A three-way analysis of variance was conducted using the following main effects:

> sex (2 levels), within schools SES (3 levels), and between schools SES (2 levels).

The results showed no significant differences on ASAT total score associated with between schools SES, but the within schools SES showed differences significant at the 0.01 level. A similar result was obtained using HSC aggregate mark as the measure of educational performance. By contrast, the analysis for ATWE yielded no significant differences for either between schools SES or within schools SES, which is rather surprising in view of the commonly held opinion that it is lack of competence in written English that is responsible for the poor academic performance of low-SES students.

These findings support the view that a change of emphasis is required so that more attention is given to differences within schools instead of concentrating almost exclusively on differences between schools. Efforts to give remedial or compensatory education to disadvantaged groups within schools would create many problems some of which would arise from the long tradition in schools that extra work is a form of punishment. The amount of extra work required to enable those whose retardation is measured in years to catch up must be enormous. Can we really expect that they would willingly accept such punishment for something that is really not their fault? It would be extremely difficult to get the beneficiaries of such a scheme to appreciate its benefits and to accept it in the spirit in which it was offered.

Several Australian studies have been carried out on the subject of girls as a disadvantaged group. The results have been published and are fairly well known. The only further comment which can be added at this stage is that ASAT total and HSC aggregate showed a significant discrimination in favour of girls. In the case of ATWE the sex differential in favour of girls was significant beyond the 0.01 level. The corresponding analysis for

teachers' assessments has not yet been carried out, but preliminary indications are that teachers also tend to discriminate in favour of girls. An American study has shown that teachers favour girls to the extent of 0.3 of a grade point on average.[19] As more results of the combined TEEP/TAP project become available we will gain a more accurate picture of the position in Australia.

The analysis of the disadvantages suffered by ethnic groups, religious groups and country groups has presented extraordinary difficulties because of the large differences associated with SES which overlap with these other influences to such a great extent. In the case of country students the high rating given to the occupation of farmer may have increased the complexity of the analysis. All of which tends to support the view that these "disadvantage models" have inherent weaknesses which can only be overcome by making a new start on the basis of an entirely different type of model which does not have any built-in assumptions about superior and inferior groups.

Provisional Summing Up

The case against the use of "disadvantage models" as a guide to effective action rests on both theoretical and practical considerations. The major theoretical weakness arises from the "arrogant assumption" that one group is "superior" and the other group is "inferior". The problem is then congealed into a mould which almost guarantees its insolubility. How can the inferior group be raised to the level of their superiors? Ingenious explanations of their supposed inferiority are devised. Thus, it may be argued that they are inferior because they employ a restricted code of verbal and written communication not suitable for the development of abstract concepts and the growth of the higher mental processes. The superior group use an elaborated code of language and this is the key to their higher level of educational and occupational attainment. It then appears that all that is required to overcome the disadvantage is a programme of compensatory education which will provide the inferior group with the elaborated code which they have hitherto lacked. Despite huge expenditure of time, effort and money on projects designed to do this the expected outcomes in the form of higher levels of educational attainment have failed to materialise. The writer of a recent article on linguistic deprivation made the following comments on the current situation:

> "There is some relationship between language and thought, but teaching children certain language structures does not teach them how to think. . . . Language usage has been a political and economic football kicked around when a scapegoat was needed to explain failures in school systems and in policies aimed at equality of educational opportunity."[20]

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[19]Phelps, M. C. and Swan, C. C.: "Grades, Sex, and Admissions". *The College Board Review*, 90, Winter, 1973-1974, p. 29.

[20]Poole, M. E.: "Linguistic Deprivation". *The Educational Magazine*, 32, 2, 1975, p. 17.

In Australia, there is a tendency in the metropolitan areas for children from high- and low-SES groups to attend different schools because of the existence of working class districts. This makes it relatively easy to distinguish between schools with populations which are drawn from predominantly low-SES homes and schools which draw from predominantly high-SES homes. The assumption that this constitutes the distinction between schools which are poor and disadvantaged and schools which are affluent and advantaged is a natural one. It then follows that recognised tests of educational performance will reveal a lower level of achievement in the disadvantaged schools. We have seen that when this was investigated as part of the Victorian TEEP/TAP project there was a difference in the expected direction but it was too small to be statistically significant. This may be explained by the rather low retention rate from ninth grade to twelfth grade in Victorian High Schools. There were 13,231 students in twelfth grade in Victorian High Schools in 1973 when the testing was done but these were the survivors of 32,089 in ninth grade in 1970, i.e. a retention rate of 41 percent. Corresponding figures for Catholic and Independent Schools are not available. The drop-out from High Schools would probably consist of the less academically able students and those remaining to twelfth grade could be expected to perform better than their SES ratings would indicate. Once again, the difficulties and complexities associated with the use of a "disadvantage model" as a guide to action cast serious doubt on the value of this approach.

The fact that high- and low-SES students often attend different schools in the State system, while males and females usually attend the same schools, is very useful for research purposes. Disparities in high school quality might be held responsible for differences in educational performance between high- and low-SES schools if these could be shown to be statistically significant. They can hardly be held to be responsible for the sex differential in educational performance which was statistically significant for ASAT, ATWE and HSC aggregate in the Victorian study. In any case the difference is in the opposite direction to that predicted by the "female disadvantage model". This refutation should be sufficient to discredit the model and force its abandonment, but it has supporters who prefer to regard it as a model which cannot be refuted. They postulate many subtle influences within schools which operate to the disadvantage of girls. They claim that girls are "locked out" of subject areas which are required for entry to positions of status and responsibility.[21] This interpretation springs from a belief that a strong model is one that can never be overthrown. It is true by definition and inconvenient facts which appear to refute it can always be explained away. There is an element of conviction and a steadfast adherence to an ideology in all this which draws its nourishment from catch-cries about the oppression and exploitation of one group by another. It is precisely because of the doctrinaire thinking which lies behind them that "disadvantage models" must be regarded as weak rather than strong. The essence of a strong model is that it runs a

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[21]Elliott, L.: "Inequalities in the Australian Education System". In, Mercer, J. (ed.): *The Other Half. Women in Australian Society*. Penguin, Melb., 1975.

real risk of refutation. Only a model which has stood up to this sort of test can be regarded as a reliable guide to action.[22]

It is suggested that consideration be given to an alternative model as a replacement for all the different types of "disadvantage models" which have been discussed. This is the "interdependent sub-cultures model". It postulates that there are observable differences between males and females, between high- and low-SES groups, between migrants and native born Australians, and possibly between metropolitan and country dwellers, which are sufficient to categorise them as different sub-cultures within the one Australian culture. It makes no assumptions about one sub-culture being "superior" and the other being "inferior". It is therefore in line with the pluralist concept in which a number of different sub-cultures are held to be equally valid within a single nation.[23] There is no need for the "arrogant assumption" of "superiority" nor for the conversion of the adherents of supposedly "inferior" sub-cultures to ways of life which do not appeal to them. The model predicts that there will be a large area of overlap between the "rival" sub-cultures and that this will tend to increase. Predictions from the model have agreed with observable facts in a number of important areas.[24] It is a strong model because it runs a real risk of refutation and it does not draw its sustenance from slogans and catch-cries. Furthermore, it is a model which can be progressively modified by the continuous evaluation of the results obtained from its use as a guide to action.

Although the gains made during the recent era of change in Australian education have not always been in line with the expectations of their sponsors they are none the less real. Weaknesses have been revealed which have both theoretical and practical implications. It appears that the way forward is one that will take us away from the wasteful conflicts between rival sub-cultures and towards a new era of mutual understanding and growth so that together we can enjoy the rich heritage of a modern pluralistic society.

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[22]Popper, K.: *Conjectures and Refutations*. Routledge, London, 1965, pp. 34-35.

[23]Greenbaum, W.: "Essay on the Rise of Pluralism". *Harvard Educational Review*, 44, 3, August 1974, pp. 411-440.

[24]Rowlands, R. G.: "Do Girls Constitute a Disadvantaged Group?". *Australian Journal of Education*, 20, 1.

THE DILEMMAS OF AUSTRALIAN PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

G. F. Ashby

Investment in education in Australia has increased dramatically over the past three years. The activities of the various Commissions have resulted in the release of funds for upgrading and improvement. Whole ranges of innovatory projects have been initiated. This upsurge of investment is not without its critics and although their voices are not presently loud it can be expected that some price will have to be paid for shifts in the patterning in public expenditure that have occurred. If overseas experience is any guide it may be anticipated that one natural consequence of the recent activity will be mounting debate concerning the ends to which the funds have been put.

Accountability is the handmaiden to expenditure. Both the public at large and Governments can be expected to ask whether value for dollars has been achieved and whether the priorities that guided the expenditure are justified. However, accountability in education, as most of us clearly recognize, is not confined to questions of dollars. Details of the numbers of new classrooms and other facilities built, the improvement of teacher-pupil ratios, the numbers of additional specialists made available to schools or the increases in the volume of other resources made available represent only the auditing of expenditure. Accountability includes this but moves from there into the more tangled area of value. Questions such as "Has the expenditure improved the quality of education?" "Are standards improving or declining?" and "Is our education headed in the right directions?" are likely to surface with greater frequency in the immediate future than they have to date. Public questioning of values, directions and worth lies at the heart of accountability in education.

While concern with standards may occur at a variety of levels the starting place is usually questions concerning pupil performance or achievement. How literate are children? How well can they read and spell? How clearly do they speak? Can they multiply, add, subtract and divide accurately? Do they have a sound basic knowledge of past and current events?

These concerns are picked out for first attention because the promotion of literacy and numeracy represent the most tangible products of schooling. However, other issues are also likely to arise. Questions of the changing patterns of social behaviour, moral standards and even dress are picked out for attention. (Inevitably these will all be seen as declining.) Finally questions about teaching methods, the worth of various curricula and the matter of discipline are likely to be raised.

Concern over standards is the nitty gritty of school-keeping. Handling these issues is a difficult matter because frequently they beg the more complex questions that put them into perspective. These more complex questions hinge around what we as a nation expect from our educational institutions and what we believe the "educated Australian", to turn R. S. Peter's phrase, will need to know and be able to do five, ten, or twenty years from now?

It is my hunch that educationists will be under mounting pressure to demonstrate that they are delivering the goods in return for greater investment of public moneys. However, at the same time it is highly likely that there will be increased pressure for a transfer of power from professional educationists to the community at large. The claim has been made before, and inevitably it will be made again, that education is far too important a business simply to be left to educationists.

The shorter sighted among this group will argue for increased community participation in the management of schools. The more perceptive will probably claim that the issue of school management does not, in the long run, have much effect upon the important qualitative aspects of education — a variation on the old quip that managers all over the world tend to behave the same. Thus, it is argued, the decisive power in education rests in influencing what is taught, how it is taught, when it is taught and by whom it is taught. In order to play a role in the exercise of this power it is inevitable that there will be those who will seek a far different devolution than simple managerial or administrative devolution.

Hopefully by now there will be those amongst you who will be asking just exactly what has all this got to do with pre-school education. The simple answer is that pre-school education must be viewed as an integral element in the total educational enterprise. Issues that affect other levels of education do as a matter of consequence affect the pre-school sector as well. Debate over national priorities, aims and standards in education are matters of direct concern to pre-school education. Questions about the devolution of influence in shaping what is to be taught, how and by whom it is to be taught are of significance to pre-school education. However, there is a more complex reason for electing to introduce this discussion of the dilemmas confronting pre-school education in this way.

The future of pre-school education, I believe, is closely tied to the future development of the primary school. The basic structure of the primary school has altered very little during the present century. While it is patently obvious that the management of schools has had to change because of growth in size and complexity of school plant the underlying structure of the school has shown much less change. Even the introduction of open area units within schools has not greatly altered their character. It is from a viewpoint that envisages the need for structural change in the primary school, including the integration of pre-schooling, that I wish to approach the topic.

The Problem Stated

The dilemma confronting pre-school education in Australia resolves around two key issues. First, the specification of purpose and second, the question of sponsorship. Each of these gives rise to a series of related questions of sponsorship. Each of these gives rise to a series of related issues that concern such matters as curriculum, evaluation and integration of pre-school and school. These issues relate to need for pre-school education not only to become more precise and organized but also to become able to face the issue of accountability.

In the context of this paper, the term pre-school education is used to refer to educational programs designed for children below school age and for the parents of such children. Three assumptions about such programs are made. First, that the overall function of programs for children is that they are designed to facilitate the broad educational development of the child both in the short and long term. Second, that such programs have built-in components or parallel strands designed to enhance parent skills in providing for the learning and development of the young child. Third, that such programs take account not only of the present needs of children and parents but that they also look to future needs.

These three assumptions are concerned with the functions to be performed by pre-school education. They do not specify age-levels or institutional settings. Rather, it is suggested that there is a strong and necessary educational component required for all age levels in all manner of settings. Further, identification of functions does not specify the goals that such programs should aim for nor the manner by which these aims might be achieved. It is suggested, however, that pre-school education must be viewed in a broad rather than a narrow context; that it is seen as related to the broad continuum of educational provisions rather than as an end in itself. Much of the thinking that has dominated pre-school education in Australia has been terminal in character. It has tended towards a self-centredness and self-consciousness that has cut it off from the subsequent hurdles that both children and their parents must cross. Further, such assistance implies that concern with education involves the fostering of thought and expression within those forms and fields of knowledge and understanding that are valued with society. Thus standards of achievement are as relevant to pre-school education as to any other level. This is to suggest no more than the necessity for evaluation of performance to be built into pre-school education. There is no suggestion that such evaluation should take a particular form such as the establishment of grade levels of achievement, norm referenced testing or the search for changes in I.Q. scores.

The Changing Role of the Pre-School

The tradition in Australia up until very recent times has been for pre-schools to be set up, and managed, by voluntary groups. Under this model bridging the interface between pre-school and primary school has been a matter of chance rather than a matter of design. Further, for many years the theoretical orientation of pre-school education was perceived by pre-school teachers as being diametrically opposed to the practices of primary schools.

In pre-school education the training institutions (the former Kindergarten Teachers' Colleges) exercised a much more profound professional leadership role than did other teachers' colleges. Being a pre-school teacher was to be a member of an exclusive, if not necessarily widely accepted club.

Thus at two levels, at the management level and at the professional level, pre-school education had little in common with public education. There were few bridges between the two.

When the Australian Pre-Schools Committee was established in 1973 many believed that at last some positive steps might be taken to reassess the character and scope of early education. However, this was not to be. Early squabbles broke out over membership of the Committee and these were followed by a growing conviction among other groups that their interests would not be met by the Committee. In particular the matter of day care for children of working mothers, single parents and those who sought relief from the heavy and constant demands of parenthood became key issues in shaping the debate. In its most cynical form this debate revolved around the issue of whether the educational and other needs of the child should be considered above or subordinate to the needs of the economy and of adults.

It will be a matter for future historians to analyse the steps which lead to the rejection of the notion of early childhood education. Similarly the historians must examine the reasons which have led to the Children's Commission performing the important role that it did. What, however, is clear is that early childhood education has not received either the kind of attention that it deserves nor has any serious effort been made to develop a clear philosophy of early education.

Certainly the focus of early childhood education (as education) has shifted over the past decade. The significance of the infancy period for both child and parent learning, the role of the parent in shaping both predispositions to learning and the content of learning and major revaluations of the development process in the early childhood period have emerged as key concerns. Further, the role of the pre-school (as an institution) for fostering family learning and bridging the two major socializing agents of home and the primary school has provoked the need to question many previously accepted notions about pre-school education. The unity of intervention models which have been developed for children with special needs and indeed the degree of attention that has been given to this area suggests that pre-school education is coming of age.

The Issue of Purpose

The central question confronting pre-school education at the present time is over purpose. It is to be regretted that the recent activity at the Commonwealth level failed to yield any incisive leadership in probing the educational purposes to be achieved. What has occurred is that the issue of services has been substituted for clear analysis of tasks to be performed. Terms such as integrated services, and extended services have been used repeatedly to describe the aims of Commonwealth involvement. Such terms do not describe aims, except in a most trivial way. Rather integration and extension refer to means by which aims might be achieved.

It is in the specification of such aims that so little progress has been made. While people in pre-school education have increasingly come to adopt a service-orientated vocabulary, there is little evidence in the recent Australian literature to suggest that any serious rethinking of aims has occurred. Rather what appears to be taking place is simply the embracing of a new set of activities directed towards the achievement of goals which may or may not reflect

any of the contemporary influences that have been brought to bear on pre-school education. The danger of a service-orientation is that activity may become a substitute for questioning the purposes of the activity. The momentum created by doing things may result simply in trying to fit old wine into new bottles. By way of example it can be suggested that in spite of the very considerable literature, almost wholly from overseas, on curriculum and the technology of early education a very powerful inertia has kept educational programs for children in the 3-5 year age range almost totally unchanged over recent years. In this particular respect the very forces that enabled pre-school education to survive through a long period of almost total disregard now also prevent it from adapting to new situations.

The pressure to conform in pre-school education is very great and the pity is that this conservatism reduces the opportunity to apply astringent intellectual analysis to the tasks to be confronted.

The thesis that the purposes of pre-school education, as education, have not changed in recent years will be considered by some to be an unwarranted criticism. There are many who believe that the pre-school represents the best working example of open-education at present available. Appearances may, however, be deceptive. One of the major weaknesses in pre-school programs for many years has been the lack of clear aims and the absence of any profound effort to build standards into the curriculum. Devotion to the so-called "Principles of child development" which are frequently no more than slogans, has been at the expense of the study of curriculum development and innovation.

Four Proposals

What then should be the kinds of purposes to which pre-school education should address itself? Four purposes can be distinguished.

First to provide avenues for relevant child and parent learning. This proposition assumes that the role of pre-school education is two-fold. On the one hand it is concerned with the child as a growing, learning being. On the other it is equally concerned with the learning of parents in order that they might through their contact with the child provide greater opportunity for the experience and learning.

There are few who would question the important role of parents in the education of their children. The notion that the school can go it alone has been shown to be deficient.

It has become painfully obvious to those who believed that the school could reform society that homes exercise a profound pull upon the child. Parents both consciously and unconsciously shape and mould the child and this process can work either for or against the school. If, however, parent learning is to be a central purpose of the pre-school this must not take the form of patronising the parent. Teachers must be willing to share knowledge and particularly their skills. The transference of skills to parents that they can subsequently use and develop in the home situation is an important educational task in its own right. The provision of practical guidance should

not be despised. Rather as much effort should be put into the development of curricula materials for parents as for children. Regretfully very little effort has been put into this area in Australia. Further the development of such materials must take a variety of forms and be geared to varieties of children and parents.

The emerging picture of the hierarchical nature of learning achievements in the pre-school years suggests that a fresh look must be taken at what is deemed appropriate for young children.

Particularly is this necessary with respect to the fostering of motor and perceptual motor skills, information processing and the nurturing of motivation. The place of parents in each of these processes is central. However, care must be taken to ensure that just as the child is seen to be an active learner so parents must also be viewed as active learners. Activity as was noted previously can become an end in itself and therefore the development of more specific objectives is a crucial step in the process of evolving appropriate strategies and materials.

Second, to create a bridge by which the child may move from home to school. Homes and schools both perform significant socializing functions. Further, so far as the very young child is concerned, homes and schools represent very different socializing institutions which operate along different lines and expose the child to different socializing groups. Generally the home exposes the child to a narrow but more highly selected range of social contacts. Further within the context of the home the impact of adult models may be rather different from experiences in the school. The school exposes the young child to the very powerful forces of the peer group.

In acting the part of a bridge it becomes important for the pre-school to provide experiences and an environment that assists the child to move into the wider school environment. Such a role requires very careful management. It also calls for objective study of both homes and schools. All too frequently, however, pre-schools seek to evolve their own climate and social culture. They become a place apart — a controlled and contrived environment, which may be comfortable, happy and secure, but may not provide the kinds of experiences that equip the child, and the parent, to move on. The process of adjusting to new situations is not aided if reality is kept on the other side of a closed door.

For many children the break between the home and the school is dramatic and acute. For most children this transition could be made easier through the intervention of the pre-school experience. Yet if that experience is to count it must quite selfconsciously strive to create conditions that foster social competencies. Social competencies are more than simply being able to share and co-operate. They depend very largely upon the content of the sharing and the co-operation for their character.

Third, it is a central task of the pre-school to promote mental and physical health of the child. With regard to the former it is important to bear in mind that during the pre-school years of life the young child is at a highly vulnerable age. He is subject to a variety of infections and other

ailments which precede the development of a more organised immunery system. Further, in certain instances various deficiencies in nutrition, standards of physical care, and of general health management are apparent. For example, it has been demonstrated that there is a declining incidence in the numbers of children receiving immunization to various standard diseases. Also there is evidence that during the pre-school years most of the minor handicaps likely to affect the child's subsequent educational progress can be identified, providing that appropriate screening services are established. It is important to ensure that such services are available to children and that guidance is also available to parents.

During the pre-school years the young child is vulnerable in other respects. It is during this period that the foundations of personality style are established. Further, the dependency of the child on his parents and other adult figures for nurture, security and support gives the pre-school a special function with respect to promoting sound mental health. This function like many others is not fulfilled by the pre-school acting alone but rather in conjunction with parents. This again reinforces the significance of pre-school providing a program of parent involvement.

The Fourth purpose of pre-school education is that of providing educational experiences aimed at fostering various abilities, skills and attitudes related to the child's subsequent educational progress. In pursuing this it is necessary for the pre-school to work from two frames of reference. First, the identifiable needs of individuals and groups, and second, the overarching educational goals and aspirations of the community at large and its adjunct education system. Educational programs can no more be based upon, say, the needs of children alone than they can upon the whims and dictates of rigidly prescribed syllabuses. The basis of curriculum development must be a melding of many influences. Political influences are no less important in this melding process than any other source of input, nor of course are they more important. However, whatever emerges must reflect a concern with individuals no less than a concern with the pursuit of standards of achievement.

It has already been noted that reference to standards of achievement does not reflect a concern with normative performance. The recent work by Hunt and others into the development of ordinal scales for the measurement of achievement together with the arguments advanced in the Interim Report on Literacy and Numeracy in Australian Schools against the use of norm-referenced tests reflect a new direction in the assessment of performance. It is essential that pre-school education be orientated towards performance. All too frequently it would seem that pre-school education has excluded itself from the requirement that standards of achievement be built into programs.

Thus in the area of developing appropriate educational programs and strategies it is important to identify not only where the child is from and where he is at, but where he is going to. John Dewey stated many years ago that the two central tasks of education were those of achieving continuity over time and interaction between areas of experience in learning. These twin facets of curriculum can easily become swamped by a concern that deals only with the present and forgets the future if not the past.

Sponsorship of Pre-School Education

If the question of what are the purposes of pre-school education represents the first dilemma confronting pre-school education the second, is the question of sponsorship and in particular the relationship between pre-school and the primary school.

Given the broad definition of pre-school education advanced previously, it is vital that full consideration be given to how early education articulates with primary education. It should be noted that given the traditional separation between pre-schools and schools in Australia the matter of co-ordination and continuity is generally only of a notional character. That is, teachers may meet from time to time, pre-school children may visit schools, especially towards the end of the year, and there may even be meetings between pre-school parents and primary teachers. These arrangements, dependent as they are upon a variety of specific local factors, in no way ensure that continuity will be achieved. Yet increasingly it becomes evident, unless there is very close co-ordination especially in the evolution of daily educational programs the value of pre-school education will be both shortlived and minimal.

There are in Australia a wide range of administrative arrangements for pre-school education. In some States such as Victoria it is the Department of Health which overviews pre-school education, in others the Department of Community Welfare and in yet others Statutory Boards of Pre-School Education have been set up. In a few States Departments of Education have assumed the major role. It would appear that the logical spring board for early education both at the pre-school and school levels is the primary school.

Bettye Caldwell, working with the Little Rock School Board has developed a unique lighthouse program. Up until recently her position was that of Principal of the Kramer Public School. This is a grade school to which were attached day care, infant and mother groups and other pre-school groups. On the basis of some five years spent developing this model Caldwell claims that the public school is not only the logical, but also the most effective, delivery system for early childhood education.

Of course within the United States the sharp decline in the birthrate has occurred at least five years earlier than in Australia. This has meant that many resources, both in terms of school plant and personnel have been freed up so that the possibility of applying Caldwell's model has become an attractive proposition. If the population estimates are accepted, however, Australia will face a similar situation in a few years.

The costs of converting many buildings are frequently high and it can also be suggested that the concern which has been expressed by voluntary pre-school co-ordinating bodies over standards of physical plant may have become somewhat outmoded. While it is tempting to suggest that the setting of extremely high standards for buildings has become an end in itself it is probable that the absence of determined questioning has allowed matters to get out of hand. Certainly the question of what kind of building and surrounds constitute reasonable standards for pre-school education is debatable. Further if unused plant, representing substantial public investment is available then its use must be considered.

Tasmania has experience in this area and while it would appear that for minimal expenditure improvements could have been achieved there is no question that the educational programs were markedly inferior to those of, say, Canberra where facilities are provided at much greater cost. Naturally many factors, including climate play a part in determining what represents a minimum standard but it is again stressed that this issue is one that is open for debate — there are no absolutes in this matter.

The question of economics aside, however, there are of course distinct advantages in unifying pre-school and the primary school. Most obviously the close contact between teachers permits more attention being given to the development of unified programs that offer continuity of experience. More importantly, however, is the marshalling of resources, particularly of specialists of one kind and another. The availability of remedial teachers, guidance officers and school nurses carries with it the provision of better levels of assistance to teachers, children and parents. Finally the association of pre-school with school permits the introduction of flexibility with respect of groupings within the early grades of school.

Yet there is another side to the coin. It was stated earlier that the structure of the primary school has remained virtually unchanged in many important respects for a number of years. The conduct of open area teaching has not always proved an unmixed blessing and it is still true to say that many children find early schooling a very formal process. Further, schools have frequently grown to almost unchangeable sizes and many suffer from a profound loss of intimacy that prevents them from being as responsive to individuals and the community as many principals and teachers would wish. Therefore, it would appear appropriate to explore the restructuring of school administration in such a way that smaller, schools-within-schools units could be developed.

Speaking purely as an administrator within a State Department of Education it is my belief that with a small capital outlay, with certain increases in recurrent costs, mainly in the salaries area, such a strategy could work. There would be problems especially if there was inadequate specification of professional and administrative roles and insufficient attention to the retaining of personnel. However, if one element of the school could be recreated as an early childhood element and given the responsibility of evolving early childhood programs for children and parents, virtually from birth through 7-8 years of age, the advantages would begin to outweigh the undoubted administrative and other problems that would arise. The belief that pre-school education should be set away from the school, managed outside of it and that it should orientate itself towards a welfare-type service structure is highly equivocal.

Conclusion

This then leads to the final point I would wish to make. Two major dilemmas confronting pre-school education have been identified. These are the need for clearly stated purposes and the question of sponsorship. Out of these other matters relating to the development of curricula, both of children

and parents, the design of evaluation procedures, the integration of pre-school into the primary school and the development of more discrete units within schools have emerged. These are all major issues which require thorough investigation. Yet the sad fact is that the academic community has been singularly unresponsive to research into pre-school education. Very little sponsored research into pre-school education has been undertaken in Australia over the past five or six years — a period of major activity in this field overseas. Maybe Australian academics also suffer from the well-known time-lag and yet given the flow of information and scholars into and out of Australia it is surprising that so little has been done.

The absence of fundamental research particularly into curriculum, management, organization and facilities is depressing. A review of projects funded by the Education Research and Development Committee (formerly the Australian Advisory Committee on Research and Development in Education), indicates a low level of interest in early education generally and evaluation projects in particular. This is clearly something that calls for examination. If pre-school education is to assume a role within general education it is important that its basic structure, orientation and its performance be monitored. To date many interested and frequently unstated assumptions have guided its development. Maturity will not come until pre-school education has been the subject of rigorous and continuing appraisement. Further, the need to generate Australian based models for organization and curricula which reflect the developments occurring in the early primary grades is pressing.

Thus, we come full circle. The dilemma of Australian pre-school education is that of being on the road but uncertain of where it is going and why. It has reached a stage where it must be held accountable for its actions but has not yet refined the skills required to do this. Pre-school education, if it can develop a clear educational purpose and if it can adapt itself to fit into the broad stream of education, holds much potential for influencing general education. Hopefully it will have a domino effect, having desirable influences at all levels, both within schools and in homes. In order to achieve this, however, its own house must first be put in order.

AN HISTORICAL/EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRIMARY TEACHER PREPARATION IN AUSTRALIA

T. G. LLOYD

The research described in this paper sought to achieve the following four objectives:

(i) To assess the extent of agreement amongst primary teacher educators and primary classroom teachers regarding ideal ways of teaching in the primary school;

(ii) To assess the extent to which primary classroom teachers have succeeded in matching their actual teaching practice with their accepted ideals;

(iii) To assess the extent to which primary teacher preparation programs* have contributed to the ability to carry out the various teaching functions, in an effort to develop criteria for the construction of effective preparation programs.

In all, the study aimed to take bearings *en route* within the field of primary teacher preparation and in the context of accelerating change evident in a number of English-speaking countries at present. Australia, for example, already searching in the late sixties for a justification for its three-year primary preparation programs, is faced in the seventies with the new task of preparing primary teachers in the novel, allegedly full-tertiary setting of the college of advanced education. To further complicate the situation a relaxation in the demand for primary teachers raises the possibility of four-year, degree-type preparation programs. The United Kingdom, for its part, has seen its three-year programs of the early sixties blossom in the post-Robbins era into full university-affiliated programs with the possibility for some students of going on to a fourth year for the completion of a bachelor of education degree. Such developments have not gone unchallenged, however, as the seventies have seen a questioning, particularly by the James Committee, of the desirability of linking primary teacher preparation so exclusively to the universities. Primary teacher preparation in North America also entered the present decade on a wave of self-examination and feeling for change. The United States of America has been undergoing one of the most far-reaching reassessments of any system of tertiary education ever conducted in its promotion of research into nine new elementary teacher preparation models. Canada, after giving an early Commonwealth lead (commencing 1945) in university-status elementary teacher preparation, is taking a hard second-look at the relationship between the professional and liberal studies components within the total program.

Primary Teacher Preparation's Legacy from the Past

It is useful to view the present ferment in primary teacher preparation against a background of clearly recognisable change during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As outlined in Table 1 primary teacher preparation programs in English-speaking countries can be shown to have developed through seven or eight recognisable (though overlapping) phases. The comparable Beeby stages (Beeby, 1966, pp. 48-68, 72) for the development of a primary school system have been listed as well. The *Neglect* period with little attention to the primary teacher's previous education and no concern for his training matches Beeby's

*To eliminate unnecessary repetition the expression "primary teacher preparation program" will generally be referred to as the "preparation program" or, at times, merely as the "program" for the remainder of this paper.

TABLE 1

A Generalised Model Tracing the Evolution of Primary Teacher Preparation Programs in Four English-Speaking Countries.

Steps in the Development of Primary Teacher Preparation Programs	*Characteristics of Each Step*	*Period of Prominence*	*Related Beeby Stage*
0. Neglect	Teachers receive some primary education but no training for teaching.	Up to 1800 and some decades beyond in Australia	"Dame School" (Ill-educated, Untrained)
1. Monitorial	Primary but no post-primary education. Brief intensive technician-type teacher training; no reference to principles of teaching.	England: 1810-1850 Canada: 1814-1840 U.S.A.: 1818-1840 Australia: 1825-1850	"Formalism" (Ill-educated, Trained)
2. Pupil Teacher	Some post-primary education. Longer apprentice-type teacher training; some reference to principles of teaching.	England: 1850-1920 Australia: 1851-1930	
3. Early Normal School	Some secondary education, mostly in the training institution. Detailed and specific training in a particular primary curriculum.	England: 1840-1964 Canada: 1840-1945 U.S.A.: 1839-1920 Australia: 1906-1915 1915-1955 1955-1970	"Transition" (Better-educated, Trained)
4. Later Normal School	Most of secondary education, partly in the training institution. Training both in a specific curriculum and in a complex array of the principles of teaching.		
5. Training College	Secondary education completed and entirely in the secondary schools; selected units of tertiary-type liberal studies. Training stiffened by recourse to advanced studies in the history and psychology of education. Optional studies allowed for.		
6. Diploma-type Tertiary Education	Extensive tertiary, liberal studies education. Professional work given foundation in recognised theoretical studies.	England: 1964- Canada: 1945- U.S.A.: 1920- Australia: 1970-	"Meaning" (Well-educated, Well-trained)
7. Degree-type Tertiary Education	Tertiary education includes recognised major studies as part of a recognised bachelor's degree. Professional work based on recognised disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history and philosophy.		

Dame School Stage and is characteristic of a country's pioneering or early development phase. The *Monitorial and Pupil Teacher* periods (the latter not used appreciably in North America) are to be compared with Beeby's Formalism Stage and to be noted for their intense technician-type training built upon a flimsy personal education barely going beyond primary level. The *Normal School-Training College* period matching Beeby's Stage of Transition is noteworthy for raising standards in both personal education and professional training at a time when a nation realises that its human resources are important along with its natural resources. The period of full-tertiary primary teacher preparation, matched for the purposes of this paper with Beeby's Stage of Meaning, is characterised by a substantial "liberal"* education combined with a meaningful professional preparation. Whether this last period will in fact produce primary teachers able to teach in a truly "meaningful" fashion is yet to be demonstrated.

It is of interest to compare Australia's movement through the various steps in the primary teacher preparation model with the movement of England, Canada and U.S.A. Generally trailing the others politically and socially and inevitably being anticipated industrially and technologically, Australia was the last to reach each of the steps, at times being fifty or more years behind the leaders.

Something of the importance of the present time in the development of primary teacher preparation in Australia is emphasised in noting that the two most significant periods are the years immediately following 1900 and the years commencing with 1970. The first of these periods heralded the institutionalising of the preparation process along European normal school lines in the re-opening of Melbourne Teachers' College in 1900, in the setting up of Claremont Teachers' College in 1902, and in the establishing of Hobart Teachers' College and Sydney Teachers' College in 1906. (South Australia and Queensland, seeking for a time to combine their institutional teacher preparation work with already-existing university programs, did not adopt the full normal school-training college approach until 1921.) This early period also saw a concerted effort to ensure that the primary teacher had at least a secondary education. True to the northern hemisphere pattern these Australian normal-type institutions emphasised character development within a rigidly-scheduled family-type situation, an eclectic and not-too-penetrating system of pedagogy, and an associated model primary school where the "master of method" presided over a system of demonstration lessons, criticism lessons, and public criticism lessons. It is of interest to note that Australia entered the normal school phase at a time of considerable world-wide optimism in the realm of pedagogy. Hopes were being held for the emergence of a genuine science of education based on the work and writings of James, Thorndike, Dewey, Adams, Nunn and Burt.

The second of these epoch-making periods has occurred for Australia during the 1970s. The locating of the primary teacher preparation function

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*The term "liberal" is used to distinguish personal improvement studies such as English, Geography, History, Languages, Sciences, and Economics from the more purely professionally-oriented studies such as Education, Curriculum, and Practice Teaching.

within the college of advanced education setting is indicative of renewed intention and commitment. As U.S.A., Canada and England have done before us, we are now intent upon giving our primary teachers a tertiary standard education including a substantial amount of liberal studies, and upon gearing primary teacher preparation into the total scheme of higher education. The step has been at least as revolutionary as that taken at the turn of the century and leaves a number of important questions to be answered. Amongst these are: Have we been and are we presently agreed upon the product which we wish to have emerge from our preparation programs? To what extent does the teaching work being done in the primary schools justify the methods of preparation used in the training institutions? Can the new institutions be expected to produce improved results and by what means? If greater emphasis is given to budding teacher's personal development as distinct from professional considerations what effect will this have upon his ability to fill (a) the more traditional teacher-centred instructional roles, and (b) the so-called progressive or pupil-centred roles?

The historical research conducted under the present study has given support to the view that instructional ideals held for primary teachers have been remarkably stable throughout the present century. From the time when it became apparent that governments would need to make primary schooling for the masses compulsory and free (generally the 1870s and 1880s), and from the time soon after this when children were attending school consistently and remaining long enough to gain more than the rudiments, teaching ideals became fairly promptly established and have undergone little change. Evidence for such stability was gained by comparing present-day normative statements on instruction such as the Plowden Report (1967) and various contemporary state primary syllabi with authoritative documents appearing in the educationally lively decade 1897-1906 and since.

To illustrate the above assertion, it is apparent that the Plowden Report advises a balance of instructional roles in favour of those focused upon the pupil (e.g. provider of an environment for exploration and discovery), with those focused upon the teacher (e.g. demonstrator) being given a significant but lower degree of emphasis. It is stated that:

> The newer methods start with the direct impact of the environment on the child and the child's individual response to it . . . the children . . . follow divergent paths of discovery. (Plowden Report, 1967, p. 200.)

In fact these "newer methods" had been clearly anticipated at the turn of the century, to say nothing of the statements of the philosophers of earlier centuries. Dewey, as early as 1897 stated that:

> The teacher . . . is there as a member of a community to select the influences which shall affect the child and to assist him in properly responding to these influences. (Dewey, 1897, pp. 24, 25.)

Australian educators caught the spirit promptly. Board's revolutionary primary curriculum (N.S.W.) of 1905 advocated that learning exercises should "naturally arise out of the pupil's experiences" (pp. i-vii), while Tate in Victoria was referring to "the new conception of education as dependent upon the power to stimulate the self-activity of each pupil" (Long, 1906, p. 14). Into the twenties and thirties the message was generally consistent:

> The process of growth is essentially the child's own . . . The teacher and the school do, however, create conditions that foster or retard the growth of the child. (N.S.W., Dept. of Ed., 1922, p. v.)
>
> Education in schools should be an enrichment of experience . . . There should be a strong element of correlation between subject and subject. (Tasmania, Dept. of Ed., 1934, pp. 1, 2.)
>
> Whereas, formerly, (the primary school) was thought of as a place where pupils were instructed, it is now thought of as a place where pupils gain experience. (Cole, 1932, p. 120.)

With respect to actual practice in the primary schools through the twentieth century a different picture emerges. The strictly formal ways of the payment-by-examination-results era were waning by the time the new primary syllabi were being launched soon after the turn of the century and the new informal teacher roles were beginning to spread in the face of severe difficulties such as the limited background of existing teachers, unsuitable buildings, and excessive numbers under the care of the one teacher. Something of the best of the new approach was apparent in South Australia's "freedom schools" which were given experimental privileges towards such goals as the realisation of "the curriculum through the child, his natural instincts and his self-activity" (South Australia, 1933, p. 16). The number of teachers involved in such experimental approaches has clearly increased since the late 1960s when the open-plan/team teaching vogue set in (South Australia, 1972, p. 3). That there could be yet a fair way to go before our primary school practice meets our ideals is suggested in remarks by Bassett that many of our primary schools "have become largely devoted to repetitive work, with a meagre curriculum" (Bassett, 1971, p. 177) and by Hughes that while teachers have opportunity for innovation there is "some lack of confidence to accept these opportunities" (Hughes, 1969, p. 145).

In view of the foregoing, how successful have primary teacher preparation institutions been in realising the ideals set for them? Not too strangely they were most successful when the least was expected of them — that is in the monitorial phase during the early part of the nineteenth century when preparation to impart the rudimentary skills was a substantial part of the objective. Satisfaction waned during the latter part of the nineteenth century to reach its nadir in the furore raised at the turn of the century and resulting in a spate of enquiries held in virtually all States, and in the gradual replacement of the pupil teacher system by the normal school-training college system. If one accepts the view that an effective teacher, in terms of the ideals already discussed, is first of all a well-developed person in body, mind, and spirit, and has been led to think in depth about a number of issues involved in one or more liberal studies areas and in the theory of education, then it would appear safe to assume that the preparation institutions have been generally gaining ground throughout this century. On the other hand the difficulty which some institutions have faced in providing a realistic amount of liberal studies in the face of entrenched methods-type studies suggests that there may be yet a good deal more distance to be made up.

An Assessment of Some Features of Present-Day Primary Teacher Preparation

The development of criteria for the evaluation and reconstruction of curricula for primary teacher preparation has been founded to date not upon experimental evidence but upon a number of increasingly well-accepted assumptions. This study attempting as it does to assess empirically a number of curriculum approaches in the area of primary teacher preparation could not avoid stating those assumptions explicitly in order to develop and test hypotheses based upon them.

The first of these assumptions is that an effective primary teacher is first of all a well-educated person (at the tertiary level) quite apart from his professional knowledge and expertise. The idea was alluded to as early as 1944 in the McNair Report (McNair, 1944, p. 64) and in all United Kingdom, Ministry of Education papers on teacher training since then. One of these laid down that if teachers were to help the individual child "the greatest need is that they should be better educated men and women" (Morris, 1957, p. 1). Such a concept was basic to the setting up of the three-year programs in the United Kingdom in the early 1960s and was discernible as well in the work of the various committees set up by Australian departments of education to report on three-year preparation programs in the late 1960s. The Victorian report, for example, stated that:

> the basic assumption . . . is that the quality of the person matters more than anything else. The quality of his mind, his attitude to children and to learning, his interest in action and achievement — these are rated most highly. (Pryor, 1967, p. 11.)

In similar vein Queensland's report placed personal maturity and general education in positions of high priority (Murphy, 1971, pp. 20, 23).

From the United States, the first English-speaking country to introduce degree level preparation for primary teachers, comes a similar call for a substantial liberal studies component. Conant (1963, p. 159) advocated that three-quarters of a four-year program be devoted to general education plus major studies. Koerner (1963, pp. 265-281) advised even more for the non-professional area. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education emphasised this "general studies component" in its document: *Recommended Standards for Teacher Education* (Adkins, 1970, p. 3) while a number of conferences (e.g. E. R. Smith, ed., 1962, pp. 17-19) and funded projects (e.g. Stone, 1970, pp. 16, 17) have recognised its importance.

A second assumption is that the preparation program should, for suitable students at least, become a foundation for extended degree-type studies within the total scheme of higher education. The Robbins Committee (United Kingdom) set an important precedent in this respect in advising that especially apt persons completing the university-backed three-year programs be given the opportunity to take out a B.Ed. degree for a further year's work (Robbins, 1961-63, p. 116). For Australia, the Martin Committee, though less explicit in its recommendations in this area, clearly envisaged that the basic qualification gained by a primary teacher should be capable of being built upon in a recognised way (Martin, I., 1964-65, p. 118). This concept has persisted through to State level as well. (See, for example, Pryor, 1967, p. 8.)

A third assumption underlying much present-day thinking in the reconstruction of primary teacher preparation curricula is that the total program should be strongly integrated. For example, the theory of education should be linked with clinic-type work with individual primary-age children, and much of the curriculum work should be associated with the practical teaching sessions. McNair gave early support to this view (p. 67) and this carried over into later planning for the United Kingdom three-year programs (Morris, 1957, pp. 5, 8). Conant (p. 63) advised that curriculum work be largely confined to practice teaching periods together with teaching workshops. One of the commissions of the National Education Association (United States) reports a commitment to integrated approaches involving such practices as clinical involvement and internship (Stinnet, 1970, pp. 2, 3).

A fourth assumption is that curriculum rigidity should be replaced by flexibility in the range of subjects offered in the timetable, in non-lecture-type classes, and in the style adopted for student teaching notes and diaries. Related to this total theme is Begg's call for the teacher to be prepared more as a "master of ceremonies" or as a "producer" rather than as a "main actor" (1965, pp. 102, 106-108), and Crane's view that the teacher should be prepared to react to the pupil as "educator" as well as "instructor" (Richardson and Bowen, 1967, ch. 1). Part of the rationale is that a teacher who has himself undergone significant personal change within a curriculum in which he was able to exercise considerable choice would be more likely to offer such opportunities to his own pupils. From the viewpoint of flexibility within the academic program Hilliard advises the dropping of the lecture as an exclusive system, the using of multi-media research opportunities, and the favouring of well-prepared seminars over open-ended discussion (1971, pp. 49, 108-118). In an effort to promote individualised program flexibility for each student the United States Office of Education's elementary program model project has called for the building of specific behavioural objectives into performance modules which are to be stored in computers and tackled by students according to need and ability.

A final* assumption basic to present-day planning for the preparation curriculum is one which will not be developed in this paper but which is so clearly related to assumptions one, two and four that it is worth giving some prominence: that teacher preparation is an on-going process which should continue into the in-service period and as long as the teacher remains in the profession. The otherwise unimpressive James Report received wide approval for its "third cycle" of preparation which was to involve the periodic releasing of teachers on full salary to improve their basic qualifications (James, 1972). While the James Committee was sitting, a British publication appeared which outlined a practical means of organising such a sandwich-type program. It

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*In fact there are a number of other assumptions which might be noted, including the desirability of separating teacher employing and teacher preparing functions and the notion of applying accountability criteria to the evaluation of teaching students at each stage of their development. The former is too new in this country to make evaluation worthwhile and the latter is still in its formative stages even in the United States.

was suggested (Tibble, 1971, pp. 176, 177) that after a preliminary one-year preparation period the student work as a teacher aide. After one more year he was to become an associate teacher and then return to complete a final B.Ed. year which was to give regular teacher status. Other teaching phases were to appear prior to taking out an M.Ed. and Ph.D. which could give master teacher and/or specialist teacher status. A similar plan is advocated in the Florida State University's elementary program model (vide supra) which advocates three preparation phases: two completed in the pre-service period and leading to a B.A. and provisional certification, and the other completed in-service and leading to an M.A. and full certification.

On the basis of assumptions such as these a considerable amount of curriculum reconstruction has been taking place over the past ten to twenty years. It remains to be demonstrated whether the collective rationale which they constitute is justified in terms of apparent results.

Method

The foregoing historical review and the above assumptions provided a starting point for an investigation designed to discover whether there were inconsistencies within the total primary teacher preparation-primary teaching system in the areas of instructional ideals and institutional practice and then whether certain teacher preparation approaches were associated with significantly different results from other approaches. The design was based in part upon a model for research in comparative education developed by Holmes (1965, pp. 51-85 esp.) in which he claims that problems in education arise from asynchronous change within or across three "patterns": normative, institutional and physical. The present investigation is concerned with the first two of these patterns only.

Objectives and Hypotheses

It was necessary at the outset to discover whether primary teacher educators and primary teachers held significantly different views upon the ideal balance to be maintained amongst each of a comprehensive range of instructional roles.* It was predicted in view of the largely unchanging nature of stated ideals for instruction throughout the twentieth century (vide supra) that these well-established ideals would be known by most persons involved with teaching and that stated perceptions of these ideals would be largely held in common by the two groups.

With this in mind the following null hypothesis was tested:

1. (Instructional Ideals)
   There is no significant difference between primary teacher educators and primary classroom teachers with respect to their perceptions of

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*The definition of *instructional role* was based upon the first of several alternatives recommended for *role* by Biddle and Thomas (1966, pp. 11, 28-31) and was related to essays by Scheffler and Green (Macmillan and McClellan, eds., pp. 17-27, 34-36) on the concepts of *teaching* and *instructing*. The stipulated definition for *instructional role* for the present research is: *a behavioural repertoire characteristic of a person occupying a position requiring deliberate, worthy, other-directed and non-mediated actions designed to lead to learning.*

the ideal emphasis to be given to each of a comprehensive range of instructional roles.

The second objective was to discover whether primary classroom teachers had succeeded in matching their teaching practice with their accepted ideals. In view of the preliminary historical examination conducted it was predicted that such an agreement ought not to be expected.

To achieve this objective the following null hypothesis was tested:

2. (Actual Primary Classroom Practice)

   There is no significant difference between primary classroom teachers' perceptions of the ideal emphasis to be given to a comprehensive range of instructional roles and their perceptions of the actual emphases being given to those roles in their own classrooms.

The third objective of the research was to discover whether primary teacher preparation programs of the past decade have been successful in equipping students to fill the various instructional roles expected of them. In view of the quite recent moves towards "meaning"-type teacher preparation in this country it is predicted that lack of success in this respect will be particularly evident for the pupil-focused roles. Greatest success is expected for the more "traditional" teacher-focused roles.

The following null hypothesis was examined to achieve this objective:

3. (Preparation Program Success)

   There is no significant shortcoming in the capability of primary teacher preparation programs of the past decade for equipping their students for carrying out the full range of primary teacher instructional roles.

A fourth objective of the research was to discover whether particular approaches as implied by the assumptions outlined at the outset of this section are associated with significantly different results from those related to approaches contrary to those assumptions. For general purposes it was predicted that the results would be different and that teacher preparation approaches based upon the given assumptions would be associated with better results for the pupil-focused roles while those approaches contrary to the assumptions would be associated with better results for the teacher-focused roles.

The following null hypotheses were tested to achieve this objective:

With respect to ratings of the extent to which the various roles were catered for, there is no significant difference between . . .

4. programs which *schedule most of the student's time* and programs which *do not schedule most of the student's time;*

5. programs *completed* in the period *1965-1969* and programs *completed* in the period *1970-1971;*

6. programs which give *more time to professional studies* than to liberal studies and programs which give *more time to liberal studies* than to professional studies;

7. programs with a *prescriptive approach* to teaching methodology and programs with an *experimental approach* to teaching methodology;

8. programs which give *little attention to systematic mastering of a comprehensive range of teaching approaches* and programs which give *considerable attention* to such a systematic mastery;

9. programs which offer no more than *one liberal studies elective* and programs which offer *more than one* liberal studies elective;

10. programs which offer no more than *one professional elective* and programs which offer *more than one* professional elective;

11. programs which make no use or *little use of non-lecture class appointments* and programs which make *more use* of non-lecture class appointments;

12. programs which make *infrequent use of team lecturing* and programs which make *more frequent use* of team lecturing;

13. programs which achieve *little integration between educational theory and practical teaching* and programs which achieve *considerable integration* between educational theory and practical teaching;

14. programs which provide *little integration between educational theory and experimental/clinical work* and programs which provide *more integration* between educational theory and clinical work;

15. programs which *initiate students to teaching via whole-class lessons* and programs which initiate students to teaching via *small group* experimental/practical work; and

16. programs which allow *little freedom* in the preparation of *teaching notes* and programs which allow *more freedom* in the preparation of *teaching notes*.

Subjects

The subjects under study were 201 lecturers in primary teacher education and 750 primary teachers chosen from selected institutions within the State of New South Wales.

For the particular purposes of the investigation it was necessary that both teacher educators and primary teachers be capable of being matched for specific preparation institutions. This required that representative institutions be selected at the outset. These were a long-established capital city college (Sydney Teachers' College), a post-War established capital city college (William Balmain College), a pre-War established provincial college (Armidale Teachers' College), and a post-War established provincial college (New-

castle Teachers' College); together with four university-based programs: two of the concurrent type (University of Sydney's B.Ed. program and Macquarie University's B.A., Dip.Ed. program), and two of the end-on type (Dip.Ed. programs offered at the University of Sydney and at Sydney Teachers' College).

In view of the quite manageable numbers of staff involved with the professional preparation of teachers under each of these programs a decision was made generally to select all lecturers under these programs working with courses in Education, Curriculum, and Practical Teaching where primary teachers were involved. The number of subjects made available by this means was as follows:

Sydney Teachers' College	42
Armidale Teachers' College	33
Newcastle Teachers' College	48
William Balmain College	49
University of Sydney	15
Macquarie University	24
	211*

The sample population of primary teachers was selected on the basis of the following three constraints:

1. The preparation program undergone was to be one of eight already outlined;

2. All were to be presently in New South Wales government teaching service and were to have entered such service from 1967 to 1972 inclusive; and

3. The present place of teaching was to be within one of the directorates: Newcastle, North Sydney, Central Metropolitan, St. George, Metropolitan West, Liverpool, and North Western.

The basic sample was selected from the first three of the above directorates allowing for a fair distribution of rural and urban areas. The remaining directorates were used to build up the sample to where it reliably represented the State of N.S.W. with respect to proportions of men and women, of infant and non-infant teachers, and of each of the four classes of school. As well, due to the necessity of locating as many as possible of the limited

*The difference of ten between this total and the 201 mentioned above is due to the fact that several lecturers are involved in more than one program.

number of university-related teachers, and the necessity of gaining a full range of socio-economic locations in line with the scales developed by Congalton (Congalton, 1969), the additional directorates were used.

By this means an excess of names was gained for those prepared at the Newcastle Teachers' College only. These were reduced by a process of random selection and the final list of primary teachers was made up as follows:

Sydney Teachers' College	158
Armidale Teachers' College	171
Newcastle Teachers' College	160
William Balmain College	169
University of Sydney B.Ed.	20
University of Sydney and Sydney Teachers' College Dip.Ed.	62
Macquarie University B.A., Dip.Ed.	10
	750

Instruments

No existing tests were available for the measurement of degree of emphasis on a comprehensive range of teaching functions in the primary school. The construction of a new instrument was required which provided a generally complete array of instructional roles used by teachers in the primary school together with a means of registering perceptions of (a) ideal emphasis to be given to each role, (b) actual emphasis being given to each role, and (c) the extent to which the preparation program catered for the role.

An array of instructional roles was developed against a background of work in classroom teaching analysis carried out by Withall (1949), Biddle (1969), Bellack (1966), and Jackson (1968); and in view of the isolation of a limited number of teaching roles by Sorenson (1963), Gage (1964), Laux (1965), Bush (1967), and Bauer (1971). The list was filled out by recourse to analysis of a leading document in primary teaching methodology (Plowden, 1967), to the views of teacher educators in over eighty preparation institutions in Australia and overseas (questionnaire and personal interview), and to analysis of detailed hour-by-hour diaries of selected teachers. A reconciliation of the lists emerging from each of these studies produced the array of instructional roles as given in Table 2.

The list of instructional roles was developed to the point where it could register degree of emphasis by the addition of concise statements of the teacher behaviours appropriate for each role together with three Likert-type scales.

TABLE 2

A Proposal for a Comprehensive Range of Instructional Roles Used by Primary Teachers.

A.—*Roles Related to Pre-class Planning for Learning*

1. Program planner and co-ordinator
2. Co-operator within a teaching team
3. Provider of learning materials

B.—*Roles Related to the Management of the Environment and the Initiation of the Learning Process*

4. Counsellor and interactor
5. Classroom manager
6. Diagnoser
7. Prescriber
8. Stimulator and motivator
9. Provider of opportunity for teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil planning of goals and means

C.—*Roles Related to the Process of Learning*

10. Provider of opportunity for exploration and discovery
11. Provider of opportunity for problem solving
12. Observer
13. Guide and adviser
14. Provider of information
15. Model
16. Provider of access to mechanical and technological instructional media
17. Demonstrator
18. Provider of opportunity for practice of skills
19. Provider of opportunity for drill of factual knowledge
20. Provider of opportunity for group social interaction and productivity
21. Reinforcer
22. Provider of opportunity for aesthetic appeal
23. Provider of opportunity for creative expression

D.—*Roles Related to the Closure and Evaluation of Learning*

24. Provider of opportunity for clarification of ideas
25. Provider of opportunity for the personal application of ideas
26. Evaluator
27. Recordkeeper

Along these lines Role 5 (for example) in the teacher's form of the instrument appeared as follows:

Role 5—*Classroom Manager*

Overseeing the general tone and order of the learning environment to provide for optimum learning conditions for the greatest possible number of pupils.

Actual Emphasis
A. 0☐ 1☐ 2☐ 3☐ 4☐

Ideal Emphasis
B. 0☐ 1☐ 2☐ 3☐ 4☐

Preparation Program
C. 0☐ 1☐ 2☐ 3☐ 4☐

The subject was instructed to select one of the categories in each Likert scale (Very Low or None/Low/Medium/High/Very High) in answer to the questions:

A. What degree of emphasis do you consider is presently *actually* being placed on this instructional role *in your particular classroom?*

B. What degree of emphasis would you want to place upon this instructional role in your primary classroom if facilities were *ideal* for working towards meeting the needs of the primary school child for the foreseeable future?

C. How much do you consider your pre-service primary teacher preparation program contributed to the carrying out of this instructional role?

For the teacher educator's form of the instrument the wording of the questions was adjusted to suit the separate viewpoint of a lecturer within the preparation institution. Questions were added to gain personal details relating to each subject and, in addition, to the teacher's form of the instrument was added a section designed to gain information related to each of the hypotheses already listed.

Conducting the Test

Due to the considerable length of the instrument (the teacher's form extended to eighteen pages) it was considered advisable to deliver it personally wherever possible after preliminary contacts had been made by letter. As well as personal visits to each of the institutions this involved visits to primary schools from as far north as Taree, Dungog and Singleton to the southern and western limits of Sydney.

The personal contact was for good-will purposes only. The questionnaire was self-explanatory and was to be completed at leisure during the ensuing week and then (for teachers) returned to the University of Newcastle by means of a business-reply-post envelope.

The precaution of making extensive personal contacts was justified in high return rates from both types of subjects. Of the 211 lecturers receiving the questionnaire 167 (79.1%) returned it as requested. Of the 750 teachers in the original sample seven declined to participate and forty-three were unavailable due to such factors as resignation, accouchement leave, absence overseas, and death. Of the remaining 700 teachers 588 (83.2%) returned the questionnaires as requested.

Storage and Retrieval of Data

Answers provided on both forms of the questionnaire were coded and stored in numerical form on two computer cards per subject. The details from these cards were then stored in various files in the computer (Newcastle University Computer Centre: ICL 1904A) corresponding to various groups such as All Subjects, All Lecturers, All Teachers, College Lecturers, College-prepared Teachers, University Lecturers, University-prepared Teachers, and

lecturers and teachers associated with each of the eight separate preparation programs.

A computer program was then prepared which was capable of reading off the ratings for each of the twenty-seven roles, recording them in separate compartments and comparing the frequencies gained by various dichotomised groupings of the total number of subjects or of suitable subsets within the total. Comparisons, for example, were made of profiles for each of the ideal ratings between lecturers and classroom teachers (see $H_0 1$), between the classroom teacher profiles for ideals and their profiles for actual practice (see $H_0 2$), and between profiles for evaluation of teacher preparation programs as shown by persons indicating low incidence of the various basic assumptions and profiles of those indicating higher incidence of those assumptions (see $H_0 4$-16).

In each case the test of significant difference chosen was Chi Square and the level was set at .01.

Results

Hypothesis 1. (Agreement Upon Instructional Ideals)

Results of investigations designed to test $H_0 1$ are summarised in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Number of Roles in which there is a Significant Difference beyond the .01 Level between Lecturers and Primary Classroom Teachers Regarding the Ideal Emphasis to be Given to Each Role.

Types of Roles / Groups of Ss Being Compared	All Lec(N = 180) with All Tch(N = 562)	Clg Lec(N = 133) with Clg Tch(N = 490)	Univ. Lec(N = 47) with Univ. Tch(N = 72)
Teacher-focused Roles (Possible N = 6)	5	5	2
Pupil-focused Roles (Possible N = 13)	6	5	3
Neutral Roles (Possible N = 8)	4	3	2
Total Roles (Possible N = 27)	15	13	7

To facilitate generalisations concerning the twenty-seven instructional roles they have been arranged into three groups: Those of the more "traditional" or teacher-focused type (roles 5, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19), those of the so-called "progressive" or pupil-focused type (roles 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 20, 23, 24, 25), and those neutral with respect to the criteria for the other two groupings (roles 1, 8, 12, 13, 21, 22, 26, 27).

As can be seen from Table 3, where the views of all lecturers Ss are compared with the views of all classroom teaching Ss, 15 of the 27 roles show a significant difference beyond the .01 level. However, when the two groups are broken up into those associated with college programs (lecturers and the teachers they have prepared) and those associated with university programs, the number of roles in which there is a significantly different profile of emphasis over the five possible categories (0, 1, 2, 3, 4) is reduced to $\frac{13}{27}$ and $\frac{7}{27}$ respectively. Additional data not listed in Table 3 indicates that where the comparisons of ideal emphasis are particularised further to the level of individual institutions the number of roles in which there is significant difference is further clearly reduced.

As is further suggested by Table 3 the area of greatest difference with respect to ideal emphasis is that related to the teacher-focused roles. A closer study of the various profiles indicates that these differences are due to a very general tendency for teacher educators to want to see these more formal roles played more lightly than the classroom teachers would expect to see under ideal conditions. Two other noteworthy observations are that there is clear agreement between the two groups on the more informal, pupil-focused roles in more than half of the cases, and that right at the outset of the investigation it becomes apparent that understanding between university teacher educators and those whom they have prepared is particularly high with respect to the ideal emphasis to be placed upon the various roles.

The weight of evidence arising out of the Chi Square tests of significant difference indicates that at the .01 level of confidence and for the majority of roles H_o1 may not be rejected.

Hypothesis 2. (Agreement between Teachers' Ideal and Actual Emphasis upon the Instructional Roles)

Results of investigations designed to test H_o2 are outlined in Table 4. As may be noted, a highly consistent tendency is apparent for each of the three groupings. Without exception each of the so-called progressive or pupil-focused roles is seen as currently being emphasised far from the ideal, and all but one or two of the other roles are also seen as receiving emphasis out of keeping with the ideal. (The role upon which actual practice was most in agreement with the ideal was the formal role of *demonstrator*. University-prepared teachers had no significant differences at the .01 level on the roles of *provider of drill* and *guide and adviser* either.) It was expected that the general tendency would be for teachers to consider they were in practice over-emphasising the teacher-focused roles and under-emphasising the pupil-focused roles. In fact, for what might be considered the foremost of the teacher-focused roles, provider of information, the group considered over-much emphasis *was* being given; however, for three of the other teacher-focused roles actual emphasis was given as significantly lower than the ideal. As predicted actual emphasis upon each of the pupil-focused roles was significantly lower than regarded as ideal. As well, for all but one of the neutral roles actual emphasis was seen as significantly lower than the ideal. A closer examination of the group in terms of

personal characteristics indicated that the tendency to over-emphasise the role of provider of information and under-emphasise the pupil-focused roles was significantly less noticeable ($p < .01$) in those Ss teaching more than one grade and those with pupils over the age of eight years. The socio-economic status of the school neighbourhood, the age at which the teacher entered the profession, the number of pupils in the classroom, and whether the teacher held a bachelor's degree or not did not show up as clearly associated with any particular degree of emphasis which the teacher placed upon any type of role.

TABLE 4

Number of Roles in which there is a Significant Difference beyond the .01 Level* between Teachers' Perceptions of Ideal and Actual Emphasis for Each Role.

Types of Roles / Groups and Factors Being Compared	All Tch Actl Emphs with All Tch Ideal Emphs (N = 562)	Clg Tch Actl Emphs with Clg Tch Ideal Emphs (N = 490)	Univ. Tch Actl Emphs with Univ. Tch Ideal Emphs (N = 72)
Teacher-focused Roles (Possible N = 6)	5	5	4
Pupil-focused Roles (Possible N = 13)	13	13	13
Neutral Roles (Possible N = 8)	8	8	7
Total Roles (Possible N = 27)	26	26	24

The clear weight of evidence arising out of the comparisons indicates that at the .001 level of confidence $H_0 2$ may be rejected.

Hypothesis 3. (Preparation Program Success in Equipping Teachers to Fill the Range of Instructional Roles)

Results of the investigation designed to test $H_0 3$ are outlined in Table 5. In this instance no statistical test was available and, for the purposes required, none was needed. Subjects had rated their preparation programs under each role as contributing:

[0] Very little or not at all
[1] Little
[2] A medium amount
[3] Much, or
[4] Very much

*In fact all of the differences given are significant beyond the .001 level.

A decision was made to total the "0" and "1" scores and the "3" and "4" scores for each role and to compare these two amounts. The roles indicated in Table 5 are those for which the "0 + 1" totals exceeded the "3 + 4" totals, that is, where more persons saw the programs as making less than a medium contribution to the role than who saw the programs as making a better than medium contribution to the role.

TABLE 5

Number of Roles for which More Teachers Rate Their Preparation Programs as Making Little or No Contribution than Who Rate Them as Making Much or Very Much Contribution.

Types of Roles / Subjects	All Teachers (N = 562)	Clg Teachers (N = 490)	Univ. Teachers (N = 72)
Teacher-focused Roles (Possible N = 6)	2	2	1
Pupil-focused Roles (Possible N = 13)	9	10	8
Neutral Roles (Possible N = 8)	3	3	4
Total Roles (Possible N = 27)	14	15	13

As may be noted from Table 5 each of the three groupings was most harsh in judgement of their preparation programs with respect to the pupil-focused roles and most approving with respect to the teacher-focused roles. On this basis slightly more roles were judged negatively than were judged positively.

In an effort to discover whether particular judgements of a teacher's preparation program were associated with specific life-style details Chi Square Tests of significant difference were taken in terms of a number of personal factors. Some of the more significant of these are given below.

Teachers working with more than three grades at once (N = 40) valued their teacher preparation more highly for all three types of role generally, especially the pupil-focused type. Those more heavily involved in team teaching (N = 135) in their own schools tended to rate their preparation programs more highly as did those with some specialisation in their preparation. Persons who had matriculated prior to commencing their teacher preparation clearly valued their programs more highly than did non-matriculants. Most interesting of all, those who commenced their teaching at the age of twenty years or more and those who had been in teaching fewer than four years valued their preparation for carrying out the pupil-focused roles clearly more highly than did those

who commenced teaching under the age of twenty and those who had been in teaching four years or more. On the other hand these latter two groups valued their preparation for the formal teacher-focused roles more highly.

An informal inspection of the raw test scores of teachers' assessment of their preparation programs suggests that $H_0 3$ may be rejected on a simple majority basis. On the other hand there are clearly many teachers approving of their preparation programs on a number of roles. This fact makes the effort to isolate significant factors in the teacher preparation process the more promising.

Hypotheses 4-16. (Preparation Program Success as Related to Low and High Weightings of Thirteen Preparation Program Factors)

Results of the investigation designed to test $H_0 4$-$H_0 16$ are outlined in Table 6. It was necessary to draw from the total group of Ss (473 college-prepared teachers) pairs of sub-groups each opposed on the basis of one of the given preparation program methodological factors. A comparison was then made of the profile of program success ratings for each of the twenty-seven roles as given by the opposing groups. Chi Square was selected as the appropriate test and the significance level was set at .01.

A decision was made to reject the null hypothesis related to any one of the program factors should the factor be associated with a significant difference on a simple majority of the twenty-seven roles, provided that the difference was clearly directional towards either the lower or higher weighting for that factor.* On this basis the following nine null hypotheses may be rejected:

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*For example, both of the comparisons given below (for the effect of low and high weightings of liberal arts electives on the evaluation of preparation to fill the roles of prescriber and diagnoser, respectively) are significantly different beyond the .001 level with χ^2 ratings (df = 4) of 25.810 and 25.674 respectively. In the first instance it is clear that the heavy weighting of the factor (liberal arts electives) is associated with higher evaluation of the programs' contribution to the role, while in the second instance the heavy weighting is associated with both highest approval and lowest approval:

Example One

	Lower	Higher
0	[86]	71
1	[117]	108
2	[81]	67
3	26	[54]
4	10	[20]

Example Two

	Lower	Higher
0	58	[79]
1	[106]	99
2	[105]	72
3	39	[55]
4	13	[15]

TABLE 8 Effects for College-prepared Teachers of Low and High Weightings of Thirteen Preparation Program Factors on the Perceived Success of Preparation Programs with Respect to Twenty-seven Instructional Roles

Preparation Program Factors / Types of Roles	4. Unsched-uled Class Time			5. Recency of Compl'n of Prep'n Program			6. Liberal Studies Time			7. Exper'l Appr'ch to Meth'gy			8. Atten'n to Compre-hensive Rnge of Teach'g Appr'ch			9. Liberal Studies Elec-tives			10. Prof'l Studies Elec-tives			11. Non-lecture Class Appoint-ments			12. Use of Team Teach'g			13. Integ'n between Educ'l Theory and Pract'l Teach'g			14. Integ'n between Educ'l Theory and Clin'l Work			15. Small Group Prac'l Invol't before Whole Class Teach'g			16. Freedom Allowed in Prep'n of Teach'g Notes		
	n⁻ =403 n⁺ = 76			n⁻ =351 n⁺ =118			n⁻ =159 n⁺ = 65			n⁻ =376 n⁺ = 51			n⁻ =108 n⁺ =237			n⁻ =321 n⁺ =148			n⁻ =424 n⁺ = 44			n⁻ =4[illegible] n⁺ = 58			n⁻ =390 n⁺ = 83			n⁻ =180 n⁺ =110			n⁻ =328 n⁺ =141			n⁻ =343 n⁺ =106			n⁻ =381 n⁺ = 92		
	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+	•	-	+
Teacher-focused Roles (Possible N=6)	5	0	2	5	4	0	5	2	1	4	1	1	4	0	4	5	3	1	6	0	0	5	1	2	3	2	1	4	0	3	3	0	1	5	1	3	5	4	0
Pupil-focused Roles (Possible N=13)	12	0	7	11	0	7	7	0	2	11	0	10	4	0	4	7	0	5	12	1	3	12	0	11	13	0	12	12	0	12	13	0	13	13	0	12	7	4	0
Neutral Roles (Possible N= 8)	7	0	4	6	1	3	3	1	1	7	0	2	7	0	7	5	1	4	7	2	1	8	0	5	8	0	5	7	0	7	8	0	7	8	0	6	7	4	0
Total Roles (Possible N=27)	24	0	13	22	5	10	15	3	4	22	1	13	15	0	15	17	4	10	25	3	4	25	1	18	24	2	18	23	0	22	24	0	21	26	1	21	19	12	0

KEY: n⁻ = no. of Ss (classroom teachers) represented in the lower weighting of this factor

n⁺ = no. of Ss (classroom teachers) represented in the higher weighting of this factor

• indicates no. of roles for which lower and higher weightings of this factor give a significant difference beyond the .01 level

- indicates no. of roles for which a lower weighting of this factor is associated with a significantly higher assessment of preparation program effectiveness

+ indicates no. of roles for which a higher weighting of this factor is associated with a significantly higher assessment of preparation program effectiveness

$H_0$5 — Recency of preparation program;

$H_0$7 — Experimental versus prescriptive approach to methodology;

$H_0$8 — Attention to a comprehensive range of teaching approaches;

$H_0$9 — Weight of liberal studies electives;

$H_0$11 — Weight of non-lecture class appointments;

$H_0$12 — Weight of use of team teaching;

$H_0$13 — Weight of integration between educational theory and experimental/clinical work; and

$H_0$15 — Weight of small group practical involvement before whole class practical teaching.

On the other hand using the already outlined criteria the following four null hypotheses may not be rejected:

H 4 — Weight of unscheduled class time;

H 6 — Weight of liberal studies time;

H 10 — Weight of professional studies electives;

H 16 — Weight of freedom allowed in the preparation of teaching notes.

A check was made to discover the extent to which the given program factors were isolating and comparing the same sub-groups under different names and the extent to which a hard core of persons was influencing the successive findings. Such effects do not emerge as having an important influence upon the results. For example, the 141 Ss indicating a heavy weighting of integration between educational theory and experimental/clinical work ($H_0$14) accounted for no more than $\frac{82}{110}$ of the Ss indicating a heavy weighting on the similar factor of integration between educational theory and practical teaching ($H_0$13). This same sub-group of 141 accounted for $\frac{51}{106}$ of the "heavy weightings" for the sub-group involved with $H_0$15. Other proportions were $\frac{39}{83}$ for $H_0$12; $\frac{26}{58}$ for $H_0$11; $\frac{21}{44}$ for $H_0$10; $\frac{54}{148}$ for $H_0$9; $\frac{90}{237}$ for $H_0$8; $\frac{19}{51}$ for $H_0$7; $\frac{43}{118}$ for $H_0$5; and $\frac{30}{76}$ for $H_0$4. For the four "heavy weightings" associated with $H_0$15, $H_0$14, $H_0$13 and $H_0$12 (Ss equal 106, 141, 110, and 83 respectively) there were 9 Ss only in common to all.

Discussion and Conclusions

Instructional Ideals

As was predicted there is substantial agreement between teacher educators and classroom teachers with respect to the ideal emphasis to be placed upon the various instructional roles. The agreement is clearly the closest with respect to the so-called progressive, pupil-focused roles and least close with respect to the more traditional, teacher-focused roles. One interpretation to be placed upon these results is that since the turn of the century when the pupil-focused roles were more uniformly promoted amongst Australian teachers these roles have become accepted by a wider and wider circle of persons involved in primary education. On the other hand teacher educators not faced with the day-to-day necessity of producing some measurable learning results in the

primary-age child have been more ready to de-emphasise the formal teacher-focused roles. A reasonable interpretation to be placed upon the specially high level of agreement upon ideals amongst persons associated with university programs is that the type of student attracted to these programs and the high emphasis placed upon personal intellectual development are conducive to gaining a high level of consensus regarding the best means by which primary education can best be fostered.

The substantial degree of synchronisation amongst teacher educators and classroom teachers regarding instructional ideals has important implications for program reconstruction. It follows that in the present period of far-reaching change in teacher preparation policies and practices there is room for confidence that the persons most concerned are in reasonable agreement upon the product which should be emerging from the preparation programs. Such a teacher ideally should be capable of diagnosing the pupil's needs and interests, of providing a learning environment which will allow him to satisfy those interests and answer those needs as far as possible by his own effort, and of giving opportunity for problem solving and creativity, all in co-operation, where necessary, with other professional and resource persons. At the same time this idealised teacher ought still to have facility in the formal teaching area, especially if he is to satisfy the expectations of the body of teachers already working in the schools.

Actual Instructional Practice

Again, as was predicted, there is considerable disagreement between instructional ideals and actual practice. Indeed the results were even more definite than might have been expected. To the extent that the sample of teachers used represented the teaching population of New South Wales and Australia, and to the extent that the instrument elicited the desired information, the primary teaching force in this country may be seen as largely falling short of its accepted and understood ideals. They would like to see themselves as passing on less information personally and filling almost all of the other roles more substantially. While it is reasonable to assume that certain environmental limitations such as lack of equipment and space and the personal limitations of the level of motivation and socio-economic background of the pupils might have an adverse effect upon how teachers perform in the classroom, the fact that the degree of emphasis which the teacher saw himself as placing upon the various roles had little relationship to size of class or type of school neighbourhood suggests that the type of preparation program offered must bear some of the responsibility for the young teacher's actual behaviour.

General Preparation Program Success

As a whole the group of teachers under study considered that their preparation programs fell short in providing adequate preparation on a little over half of the roles. As was expected the college-prepared teachers were clearly more satisfied with their preparation for the teacher-focused roles than they were for the pupil-focused roles. In spite of the fact that both teacher educators and classroom teachers wanted to see the role of provider of information de-emphasised, this role together with those of demonstrator, model, and provider

of practice of skills, were amongst those for which the preparation institutions were given the highest credit. Contrary to expectations the university-based programs were not rated as more deficient in providing preparation for the teacher-focused roles than were the college-based programs. In fact the university courses were seen as offering marginally superior preparation for both the teacher-focused and the pupil-focused roles.

Of special interest is the fact that while a majority of teachers expressed disappointment with their preparation in a simple majority of the twenty-seven roles under study, there were a number of roles for which preparation was highly valued and significant numbers of persons valued the courses they had taken for their contribution to each of the roles. Such a situation suggests that the closer analysis already conducted of the present group might reveal significant factors associated with perceived program effectiveness.

The investigation into some of the personal details related to the teacher indicates that pre-service courses made more of an impression upon those persons who have maintained an interest in a variety of teaching roles in team teaching situations, who were matriculated prior to commencing their preparation and who were more mature (twenty years or more) prior to taking up their first teaching appointment. On these grounds preparation institutions are justified in maintaining high academic entry requirements and in lengthening the period of preparation. As well their original preparation will maintain its value best where their graduates move into active intra-group co-operative teaching situations.

Preparation Program Success as Related to Specific Methodological Factors

The general impression that emerges from a comparison of the results of the methodological factors studied with the assumptions underlying much present-day reconstruction of teacher preparation curricula is that the assumptions are usefully conceived as a means of ensuring that the budding teacher will feel he was well equipped for his work. Contrary to one of the expectations, factors which are associated with success in equipping the teacher to fill the pupil-focused roles are not necessarily associated with lack of success in equipping for the teacher-focused roles although this did emerge mildly for emphasis upon liberal studies ($H_0 6$ and $H_0 9$) and use of team lecturing. With respect to converse effects upon the pupil-focused and teacher-focused roles $H_0 5$ is of special interest. Results there suggest that for all the college-prepared Ss the trend from the middle sixties to the early seventies has been to boost the pupil-focused roles at the expense of the teacher-focused roles.

The support given by the present research to the assumption that effective teachers are first well-educated persons is not unqualified. Programs offering a wider range of liberal studies electives had more success than those merely offering a heavier weighting of liberal studies time. This latter factor would be worth investigating further to determine whether much of the newly-introduced liberal studies work in the college is of an in-depth "liberating" type.

It would appear from the given results that the provision of electives in the professional area is much less important than it is for liberal studies. Indeed some roles appeared to suffer when the separate offerings in such areas as Curriculum and Education were proliferated.

The present study throws little light on the second assumption discussed earlier: that a primary teacher's qualification should be capable of being meshed in with the total scheme of higher education. It may be re-emphasised, however, that matriculants gain most from preparation programs and that the better matriculants might be assumed to be more eager to join programs that give promise of recognised qualifications with possibilities for the addition of diplomas and/or degrees.

The notion of providing a preparation program with clear integration between educational theory and both experimental/clinical work and practical teaching is given clear support by the present research. All types of role appear to benefit from such an approach and for no role were these factors counter-productive. The rationale here might be that all teaching functions whether informal or formal, pupil-focused or teacher-focused, are apprehended with greatest insight where a theoretical basis is provided and practical applications are promptly made. The advantages, as suggested by the given results, of placing the teaching student with small groups before whole classes ($H_0 15$) and of adopting an experimental approach to methodology ($H_0 7$) gives added weight to the value of insight prior to technique.

The assumption that programs which provide flexibility in the place of rigidity are more effective is given mixed support by the present study. Use of such approaches as seminars and tutorials in place of some lectures is clearly advantageous to the pupil-focused roles, as is the use of team teaching. A useful rationale here might link the satisfaction gained by a student under these more open learning situations with confidence to put them into use. Contrary to expectations, weight of unscheduled class time was not as critical as some other manifestations of flexibility; although the positive relationship to thirteen out of twenty-seven roles should not be regarded as inconsequential. The most surprising of all the results was the dysfunctional effect of allowing freedom in teaching notes: associated with poor results for all role types ($H_0 16$). A feasible interpretation here might be that the former rigidity of teaching notes has been abandoned before well-thought-out alternatives have been established. A possible alternative is suggested in the results for testing $H_0 8$, related to the systematic mastery of a comprehensive range of teaching approaches (compare with the use of microteaching), which proved to be of benefit to the teacher-focused roles in particular. As feared by Bush (1967, pp. 246-251), such an approach appears to be much less useful for the pupil-focused roles.

A general comment is in order regarding the meeting of the overall objectives for primary teacher preparation in the tertiary setting of the college of advanced education. As has been noted in the foregoing discussion there is room for concern that some moves towards tertiary-type programs have been inadequately considered. It should be kept in mind that tertiary-style preparation *is* a revolution — as much as the normal school approach was in its day. To seek to gain the image of the new while retaining the extensive sub-tertiary commitments of the old can hardly fail to bring discredit upon both.

The new style will require a series of fresh commitments. There will be needed faith in the improved quality of the applicant, including the belief that

he is capable of gaining more professional knowledge and expertise at a faster rate and by different means than his normal school counterpart. The new style will require confidence in the use of liberal studies not primarily as a means of giving background information for direct teaching use later but as a way to improve the quality of mind and the personal standards of the budding teacher. As well, the new tertiary approach must recognise that in providing a respected tertiary qualification it may open the way to a life-time of further professional growth in such areas as curriculum, the theory of education, and psychometrics. Such in-service professional improvement will take some of the quantity-type pressure off the pre-service courses and may well become the accepted way of maintaining touch with the expanding fields of study in the primary curriculum.

It is suggested that one useful way of casting light upon the content and method of the pre-service program would be to outline a comprehensive range of instructional roles together with a collection of non-instructional roles which a primary teacher is expected to fill, to decide which of those roles would require systematic pre-service preparation as distinct from in-service facilitation, to determine the knowledge and skills necessary for filling those roles, and then to choose those experiences which would best provide that knowledge and develop that skill. Other related tasks would be to select the necessary resources and means for evaluating the success of the chosen experiences.

Summary and Statement of Criteria

This paper has raised a number of questions related to the reconstruction of the primary teacher preparation curriculum. Answers have been suggested arising out of both historical and empirical investigation. These are summarised as follows:

Australian primary teacher educators and primary teachers have long had available to them normative statements on teaching behaviour basically the same as those presently being advocated. The body of persons aware of and largely subscribing to these ideals has grown in this decade to include a substantial proportion of the teaching force. This means that there is considerable agreement regarding the product which we wish to have emerge from our preparation programs with respect to the ways teachers should go about the business of instructing. Considered from the viewpoint of instructional role the ideals held for primary teaching do not require the eradication of any of the twenty-seven roles which have been featured, no matter how formal or traditional. Rather, the central view is that the provider of information role in particular should be played down and the remaining roles, especially those focused upon the pupil's own initiative and decision-making should be given more emphasis. A situation of significant agreement such as this ought to give encouragement to those seeking to reconstruct primary teacher preparation curricula whether in the setting of the college of advanced education or of the university. A guideline to be observed in this respect would be to place specific instructional role considerations close to the heart of program goals, of course outlines, and of evaluation procedures.

The balance of actual reported teaching behaviour with respect to ideals is disappointing in most respects and does little to justify the efforts the preparation programs have been adopting this century. Institutions conducting evaluations of their reconstructed preparation programs in the future would do well to include this facet of on-the-job performance.

In spite of this failure in practice to achieve the ideal balance amongst the various roles and in spite of the generally negative findings of a number of overseas studies in teacher preparation, the subjects of the present study consider themselves as gaining help from their preparation programs for a number of instructional roles — in the teacher-focused area to a considerable extent and in the pupil-focused area to a limited extent.

In general, where the swing in the preparation institutions has been towards emphasis upon personal development rather than on more confined professional considerations, there has appeared an improved contribution to the carrying out of the pupil-centred roles. This has resulted in recent years in some diminution of the contribution to carrying out the teacher-centred roles; however, this effect is associated with some program factors much more than others.

It is apparent that the new programs organised in the setting of the college of advanced education can be expected to improve the general level of preparation to fill the wide number of instructional roles open to the primary teacher. In view of the findings of the present study optimum results in this direction might best be achieved by observing the criteria outlined following.

It should be kept in mind that the criteria given below have been developed from results arising out of causal-comparative research and are subject to the reservations which such investigations entail. It is not claimed that the methodological factors implied in the given criteria actually produced the desirable results; but rather it is clear for the conditions which existed for the present research that these factors have been significantly associated at a clearly convincing level with the effects desired. An effort has been made to search for hidden factors and to assess their likely influence upon the results. As far as can be ascertained at present these influences appear to be minimal and the given criteria may be assumed to be a useful lead into the assessment and reconstruction of at least sections of the curriculum for the preparation of primary teachers in this country.

The first two criteria noted are related to general or "non-professional" matters:

Criterion 1: Original candidate quality

To what extent is the program capable of attracting the highest quality ability? As well as being physically and socially fit, to what extent is the candidate capable of undergoing in-depth tertiary level studies? To what extent does the candidate have a mature, adult outlook?

Criterion 2: Personal development apart from professional considerations

To what extent does the program provide a range of elective liberal studies capable of satisfying the interests and abilities of the student-teacher body?

The following four criteria are related to the directly professional component within the preparation program:

Criterion 3: Cohesion

To what extent are the theoretical considerations raised in Education and Curriculum courses integrated with first-hand experimental and clinical work with primary-age children? To what extent does the practical teaching involvement of the student-teacher grow out of the theoretical work and feedback ideas into that theoretical work?

Criterion 4: Meaning

To what extent does the student-teacher gain a practical and meaningful grasp of the psychological processes taking place for individuals before he is expected to direct large group learning sessions involving a wide variety of management skills?

Criterion 5: Flexibility

To what extent are student-teachers permitted to arrive at teaching methodological strategies by their own experimental involvement? To what extent are regularly scheduled classes providing for active student-teacher involvement in seminar, tutorial and clinic-type settings? To what extent are lecturers working in teams to give student-teachers a variety of explanations and viewpoints? And (with less conviction for the present findings) to what extent is non-scheduled time allowed, for the purpose of individual research, thought and planning?

(It is noteworthy that flexibility with respect to electives within the professional component is not included in this setting, lacking as it does support from the research. As well such a provision could be seen as working contrary to criteria three [above] and six [below].)

Criterion 6: System

To what extent has the total teaching task been analysed and systematically tackled throughout the program?

The final criterion noted has to do with the post-preparation, in-service period.

Criterion 7: Follow-up

To what extent is the young teacher placed for his early appointments in a setting where the range of skills gained in the preparation program is discussed, called upon and further developed?

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THE PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IN N.S.W. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

M. E. KAYE

"Not art, not books, but life itself is the true basis of teaching and education." (Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.)

Background: Redefinition of the Secondary School Curriculum

In 1970, Alvin Toffler's revolutionary work "Future Shock" was first published. Its impact on education and school curricula in N.S.W. has been felt in the years following its original publication. Toffler strongly criticised the "formal curriculum" of the present time as being archaic and irrelevant in preparing people for basic survival in a future society. After referring to the present curriculum as "a mindless holdover from the past", he went on to ask:

> "Why, for example, must teaching be organised around such fixed disciplines as English, economics, mathematics or biology? Why not around stages of the human life cycle: a course on birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, career, retirement, death? Or around contemporary social problems? Or around significant technologies of the past and future? Or around countless other imaginable alternatives?" (Toffler, 1970, p. 371.)

Earlier in 1962, Paul Goodman in his denunciation of compulsory schooling attacked schools for their depersonalisation of learning. In claiming that schools in general reflect many of the worst features of our society, he said:

> "It is in the schools and from the mass media, rather than at home or from their friends, that the mass of our citizens in all classes learn that life is inevitably routine, depersonalised, venally graded; that it is best to toe the mark and shut up; that there is no place for spontaneity, open sexuality, free spirit. Trained in the schools, they go on to the same quality of jobs, culture, politics. This *is* education, miseducation, socialising to the national norms and regimenting to the national 'needs'." (Goodman, 1962, p. 25.)

The Wyndham Report, issued in 1957 and implemented in 1962, aimed, *inter alia*, to prepare high school youth for future survival in an environment characterised by continuing social and technological changes. For example, in relation to the aim of 'readiness for group membership' the following statement was made:

> "Since man is both an individual and a social being, one of the aims of education is to make young people, as they grow up, capable of living with and for their fellows. If he lacks this element in his education, the individual is stunted and the life of the community to which he belongs, suffers in consequence." (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 58.)

The implication that school experiences should be designed to equip individuals with the knowledge and skills necessary for a satisfying life-style

after formal schooling, was brought out even more emphatically in relation to the 'vocational' aims of the Wyndham curriculum. Here it was noted that ". . . in teaching many of the subjects of the curriculum, the school has the opportunity to relate its teaching to the facts and practices of everyday life . . ." (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 60.)

Unfortunately, the attempt to translate these commendable intentions into practice did not meet with demonstrable success. In the recent re-examination of the Wyndham scheme, the reviewing committee commented that:

> ". . . since the initial implementation of the plan in 1962, aims have tended to become obscured. The need for clarifying aims is highlighted by significant changes in knowledge, the school population, school-home-community relations, society and educational administration. Fundamental questions of priorities have taken on a new urgency." (Aims of Secondary Education in N.S.W., 1973, p. 4.)

The result was the development of a 'new' curricular proposal, with the central aim focused on "personal development". This aim, in summary, reads as follows:

> "The central aim of education, which, with home and community, the school pursues is
>
> to guide individual development
> *in* the context of society
> *through* recognisable stages of development
> *towards* perceptive understanding, mature judgment, responsible self-direction and moral autonomy."
>
> (Aims of Secondary Education in N.S.W., 1973, p. 11.)

Whilst the energies of the curriculum developers in continuing to re-think the essential purposes of secondary education are to be applauded, one cannot help wondering whether the exercise of review and redefinition has any value unless the teachers at the grass-roots level who are responsible for implementing changes are prepared sufficiently for their role to facilitate these changes. A comparison between the 1957 and 1973 official documents suggests that the thinking of both the 'new' and 'former' curriculum committees does not appear to vary appreciably. For instance, in relation to 'individual development' the 'new' curriculum developers state that "to guide individual development is not to indoctrinate or condition . . . neither of these processes is education" (Aims of Secondary Education in N.S.W., 1973, p. 11). This does not seem to be very different from such earlier made statements as "it is important that the school avoid the pitfall of being too didactic" (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 61) or "only by a wise discretion is its adolescent to be guided in his growth toward a genuine individuality and the art of living as a member of a group" (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 59). In the Wyndham Report we are told that "even if the individual were capable of acquiring encyclopaedic knowledge, facts alone would not provide the opportunity for the personal development that lies in the various fields of human experience". (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 58.) We are also told that "one of the purposes of the school must therefore be to cultivate, within the limits of each pupil's mental capacity, habits of thought which will enable him to develop into a

self-reliant individual, ready, in so far as he is able, to form his own judgments". (Wyndham Report, 1957, p. 58.) The 'new' curriculum developers contend that "development of maturity is concerned with growth in perceptive understanding, mature judgment, responsible self-direction and moral autonomy". (Aims of Secondary Education in N.S.W., 1973, p. 13.)

It seems clear that if the 'new' curriculum developers are indeed to achieve something 'new', something which the 'old' curriculum developers failed to achieve, it will need to be in the *manner* by which goals are realised, rather than in the exercise of redefining aims, since the 'new' aims are to a large extent rephrased versions of the 'old' aims. This means that the validity of any proposal or new initiatives will depend on the capability of teachers themselves to understand these aims and to convert them into attainable goals for the learners. Much of this paper, therefore, will be concerned with an analysis of the teacher's role in contributing to the success of the 'new' programme, specifically with reference to the recently introduced "Personal Development" course.

The Personal Development Programme in Secondary Schools

Origin and General Orientation

It should be made clear at this point that the Personal Development Programme (P.D.P.) currently being trialled in N.S.W. Secondary Schools, was developed in response to earlier pressures from a number of parent groups, churches, individual citizens and various community organisations to introduce sex education in the schools. (These pressure groups are not named or specifically identified in the P.D.P. statement of principles.) Accordingly, in 1971, a departmental committee was appointed to review policy relating to sex education in N.S.W. Government Secondary Schools. In April 1974, the committee published its "statement of principles" in a booklet entitled "Personal Development in Secondary Schools — The Place of Sex Education". As the title suggests "sex education" per se was not the sole consideration of the committee. Clearly the committee saw sex education (or more properly "sex instruction") as only one (though an important one) of a number of issues which collectively could be subsumed under the more general heading of "personal development". The committee, in fact, stated categorically: "We are attempting to make clear a basic conviction that we should be concerned with the individual's knowledge and understanding of himself and others and of the world about him. 'Sex education' is a part of the programme, but only one part." (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 5.) The various areas of study which constitute the P.D.P. are detailed in an appendix to this paper, but may be summarised at this stage under the following headings:

(a) biological aspects
(b) personal development
(c) family life
(d) social aspects and population problems
(e) health.

In extending the scope of their proposal to include aspects of personal and social development, the P.D. committee was making a conscious effort to relate the P.D.P. to the recently developed curricular guidelines. Logically, therefore, the P.D.P. was intended to occupy a place of central importance in the secondary school curriculum. It is perhaps too early to conclude whether the P.D.P. has succeeded or failed in maintaining its key position in the secondary schools. However, it is worth making several observations on this point. Firstly, while it may be true that "the development of the social, emotional and intellectual capacities of men and women, though honoured in word, has too often been obscured by preoccupation with academic standards and the factual content of courses" (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 5), unless there is a genuine attempt by syllabus committees and employing agencies to de-emphasise academic performance as evidenced by results in terminal examinations, both teachers and pupils are likely to view the P.D.P. as little more than another mere non-examinable adjunct to the basic examinable curriculum. This would suggest that in order for the P.D.P. to acquire a pre-eminent status in the secondary school curriculum, it must be able to compete with other subjects deemed 'important' by teachers and pupils alike. In other words, the P.D.P. must be able to hold its place among the other subjects offered. The P.D.P. committee, however, has stressed that "to treat the programme as just another component in the formal pattern of studies like the traditional subjects would be to commit a serious error, especially if an examination was proposed". (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 15.) The serious error, I fear, may be in thinking that the P.D.P. as a non-examinable course will have any more status, in the eyes of the learners, than non-examinable music or 'scripture' (i.e. religious instruction) from which many pupils over the years have devised means of escaping in order to waste away the period or (if they are 'mature' and conscious of the need to 'pass exams') to go to the school library and get on with the business of 'real learning'. Support for this argument can be found in the study by W. F. Connell *et al.* (1975), of Sydney teenagers. In a discussion of the legitimacy of education, the authors discovered from their investigations that:

> ". . . in the first years of high school, the vast majority of young teenagers fully accept the school's definitions of reality. They accept 'education' on the institution's terms . . . The school is structured so that success means promotion up the ladder of forms. Full success in the N.S.W. system means promotion up to sixth form and completion of the Higher School Certificate exam. Only a minority of children who enter high school will actually do this, but most initially hope for it . . ." (W. F. Connell *et al.*, 1975, p. 220.)

There is little doubt, according to findings in the 12-20 survey, that the vast majority of high school pupils regard as their main concern the task of achievement in 'school subjects'. As the authors of the survey are quick to point out:

> ". . . given the way that school is organised, hopes also means fears: in a competitive system, success for some requires failure for others. We asked in one part of the questionnaire how much worry or concern was caused by a number of common problems. Of thirteen problems

listed, 'choosing a future job' and 'how well I do at school' came top for both sexes. Both of them were well out in front of such supposed teenage heartaches as 'how attractive I am', 'getting on with my parents', and 'getting on with the opposite sex'." (W. F. Connell *et al.*, 1975, p. 221.)

This finding apparently holds true for male adolescents in America, according to Ringness (1967), who concluded that ". . . the majority of S's view school as primarily useful for vocational preparation" (Ringness, 1967, p. 423). Naturally these findings do not negate the importance of 'personal issues' in the life of a teenager. Rather do they suggest that in the school context, success in school subjects is the major preoccupation of the individual teenager. It seems, therefore, that the two development tasks which were deemed by Havighurst (1953) to be prepotent in terms of adolescent needs (viz. 'achieving new and more mature relations with age-mates of both sexes' and 'achieving an appropriate masculine or feminine social role'—Havighurst, 1953, p. 2) may need to be reassessed in terms of their perceived significance to adolescents at school. This means, too, that the P.D.P. which is directed towards personal-social issues, has to be clearly re-examined in the light of the felt needs of high school pupils.

Problems in Implementing the P.D.P.

When I recently asked a local high school teacher to give me her impressions of how the pupils were reacting to the P.D.P., she said unhesitatingly: "It works better in some classes than in others." I asked her why she felt this was the case. Her reply was simply: "It depends on the teacher." During the past twelve months, I have addressed several hundred teachers who have enrolled, on a voluntary basis, in 'crash courses' of a week's duration aimed to prepare them for teaching in this area of the curriculum. Understandably, these teachers have differed tremendously in their attitudes towards this kind of work. There were also noticeable differences in age, in teaching experience, and in degree of commitment, aside from a number of other qualities which I noted subjectively. Such diversity in the personnel concerned leads one to ask the inevitable question: "What kind of person should the 'ideal teacher' be in this type of programme?" Putting it in another way, what should be the criteria for selecting teachers to undertake this kind of work? If the P.D.P. is indeed more than just another subject in the school curriculum, does the programme require someone who is more than just a teacher of another subject, in order to teach it? The P.D.P. committee recognised the difficulty of stipulating the qualities of the 'ideal' teacher, and implied that effectiveness could be found in any number of respects when they commented: "It is well-nigh impossible to define the qualities desirable in teachers to be involved in the programme." (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 13.) Despite this difficulty, the P.D.P. committee proceeded to enunciate the qualities most sought after in teachers who could function in this area:

> "One would look for such qualities as social and personal maturity, sensitivity to the needs and problems of young people, a respect for their opinions and those of other concerned adults, a willingness to

> give serious thought to the most effective ways of meeting their responsibilities and a readiness to co-operate with other people also concerned with the education and welfare of young people." (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 13.)

Given that these virtues pertain not only to 'good teachers' but to 'good people' generally, who is to assume the responsibility for selecting teachers who fulfil these requirements? Whilst the inference is that it is the teacher himself who needs to judge his suitability (i.e. he is a volunteer) in practice it has been characteristically the school principal who has taken it upon himself to select P.D.P. teachers from a volunteer group of potential candidates on his staff. If it can be legitimately contended that even school principals vary in their wisdom to select judiciously, it can be argued that the successful applicants are not always the best teachers to undertake this work. Nor, without being too unkind, can one rule out the possibility of nepotistic motives and partiality on the part of some principals in their selection practices, remote though this possibility may be.

The problem of finding teachers suitable for P.D. work is further complicated by the somewhat confusing expectation that they must be 'exemplars', on the one hand, of what they believe, yet project a non-judgmental style of teaching at the same time. Thus it is difficult to reconcile a statement such as "there is much truth in the saying 'We teach what we are' and both parents and teachers need to be aware of the exemplar roles they play in the eyes of young people. Thus it seems necessary for a teacher who is to be involved in the personal development programme to have come to terms with his own sexuality and resolved his own conflicts, anxieties and tensions" (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 14) with assertions such as "the teacher is not committed to unnatural neutrality but rather to avoiding partisan advocacy. It appears necessary to stress that a teacher's profession places him in a privileged position. He has an opportunity, denied to many other concerned people to influence his students." (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 19.) Evidently the P.D.P. committee has adopted the view that teachers exert considerable influence (next to parents) over adolescents in the development of socio-personal value systems. Several related issues need to be examined closely in this connection. Firstly, there is the matter of what a pupil expects of a teacher, not simply in the context of 'personal development' sessions, but more comprehensively in relation to *all* facets of school life in which there is interaction and communication between the teacher and the pupil. To the high school pupil, the effective mathematics teacher (or language teacher, or history teacher) is not one who assumes a laissez-faire position by not telling the pupil anything. The high school pupil does not expect the teacher to renege in this respect or to place the full responsibility for achievement squarely on the pupil's own shoulders. It is very tempting to see the 'facilitator role' of the teacher as being simply an 'opting out' of a situation where one's convictions or knowledge have to be aired. There can be no psychological security for the pupil in a situation where the teacher is committed to being uncommitted. As far as the pupil is concerned, the teacher cannot legitimately hide behind the cover of being an encourager of 'discovery experiences'. In order to subsume new bits of 'mathematics' information (or

'science' information, or 'languages information', or whatever) the learner must have general ideas to which he can anchor this new information. It is the teacher's duty to provide these anchors. Putting it another way, the pupil wants to know what the teacher thinks, believes or knows, even if it is only to ascertain whether his teacher believes some topic likely for inclusion in an examination. ("Sir, do we have to know this for the test next week?") There is little doubt that most pupils are conditioned generally to, and expect, this model of teaching — certainly where 'academic' subjects are concerned. And 'academic' studies still make up the bulk of a pupil's school learning experiences. 'Personal development', however, is described as being more than just another academic subject. How, therefore, does a pupil reconcile the teacher who is at one moment a teacher of 'just another academic subject' and who tells the pupil what he needs to know, with the same person who at a different time is the personal development facilitator who deliberately refrains from telling the pupil matters which transcend in importance mere academic considerations? Is it asking too much of pupils and teachers to expect them to interact in these seemingly incompatible ways in the same institutional context? In other words, can teachers and pupils interact differently simply as a result of a change from academic to non-academic pursuits? Perhaps some teachers are flexible and can do this with facility. However, not all teachers would find these metamorphoses easy to achieve. In a study by Wheeler (1962) of adolescents in Western Australia, it was found that ". . . only three-fifths of the sample (of pupils) thought their teachers were interested in them as people". (Wheeler, 1962, p. 362.) More recent findings from the 12-20 survey tend to support this conclusion, as the following statement shows:

> "A large number (of pupils) make the point that they want more human contact with teachers . . . There is much stress on individual contact and small group work, and some on the capacity of teachers to give advice on personal life." (W. F. Connell *et al.*, 1975, p. 287.)

The implication from these statements is that if teachers are to take a deeper, personal, human interest in each individual pupil, this concern for a more intimate type of teacher-pupil relationship cannot be catered for adequately if "personal development" is scheduled for some arbitrarily defined time in the school week. A more personal-human relationship between teachers and pupils can only eventuate when the aim of 'personal development' permeates the entire school programme. The teacher cannot be a counsellor at one point of time and a hatchet-man at another and still hope to be seen by his pupils as a stable point of reference where personal matters are concerned. Many teachers, of course, may genuinely want to develop such a stable, consistent relationship with their pupils. Realistically, however, they find it difficult to accomplish this as long as school organisational structures retain a traditional academic orientation.

A second point arises from the question as to whether the school is legitimately and primarily an agency for personalisation as well as socialisation. This issue presupposes the need to examine claims about the influence of teachers over pupils in matters of 'character-formation' etc. In reviewing a number of recent studies on the relative influences of parents, teachers and age-mates upon adolescents, Campbell and McSweeney (1972) noted: "there

is general agreement in the research literature that peer groups are next to parents, and distinctly ahead of teachers, in the influence which they exert upon children and adolescents". (Campbell and McSweeney, 1972, p. 133.) Later on the authors make the further observation that "parents who carry the scars of recent battles with their teenage offspring might be surprised at the high level of influence which they are accorded, but teachers are unlikely to doubt the validity of *their* relatively low rating". (Campbell and McSweeney, 1972, p. 134.) The Sydney Adolescent Survey team made more specific reference to the emotional reactions of pupils to teachers, and said:

> "In contrast to the primary school, where the relationship of a teacher to one class can develop over a year or more at a time, emotional connections with teachers are hard to form in the daily flux of high school periods . . . even one's favourite teacher rarely has emotional pull equal to that of parents or friends. The daily circulation among classrooms, the definition of teachers as subject specialists, and the large class sizes in the junior forms, all conspire to inhibit emotional relationships at the age when they would be most likely to develop." (W. F. Connell *et al.*, 1975, pp. 228-229.)

With this evidence in mind, one can only wonder at the grounds which the P.D.P. committee has in asserting that the classroom teacher is in a 'privileged position' because 'he has the opportunity, denied to many other concerned people, to influence his students'. It is possibly true that an 'opportunity' exists, but if the teacher is enjoined to refrain from intruding his personal views into classroom discussions, it is hardly likely that his statements will place him in a 'privileged position' or provide him with a means of influencing his pupils. This also suggests that the teacher may find it difficult to be an 'exemplar', unless he is an exemplar of an uncommitted stance. The problem is exacerbated by the further question of the role of the parents in the personal development of adolescents. If it is true that "parents should accept responsibility for providing their children with values on which they can base a satisfying life" (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 17), then it follows that the schools are restricted to one of two alternative strategies. Firstly, the schools can choose to reinforce the values developed in the home context, but by acting in this way they contradict their non-partisan code. Certainly it is advisable for teachers to be aware of the values promoted in homes. Yet it is realistic to assume that these value-systems will not be uniform from one home to the next. Hence the teacher cannot reinforce all the value-systems of pupils without promulgating the view that all are equally valid or acceptable. A second approach may be for schools to be 'open' in this matter. Classroom discussions would be based on the general rule of tolerance of other viewpoints. Such situations, however, are likely to result in placing individual adolescents in a conflict situation with the further consequence that parents may see the school as intending to subvert their influence over the teenager. A further complication is with some independent schools which consciously seek to reinforce a value-system espoused by the majority of parents whose children attend these schools. In such circumstances, the 'open'

approach is hardly likely to eventuate.* Yet this tendency to inculcate and reinforce values is not limited to any one kind of school. It is now proposed in the P.D.P. 'statement' that religious views of moral codes be specifically catered for in all schools. Thus the point is made that "it will be the responsibility of parents, ministers and other approved religious teachers to provide the specific religious component in the programme for the children of each persuasion". (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 17.) This step is unlikely to have the effect of helping pupils to formulate their own value-systems, and appears to diverge from the very spirit and intention of the P.D.P. When I recently visited a high school on the North Shore, I asked the P.D. teachers to explain how they had met the problem of involving parents in the programme. The answer was firm: the only time parents had been consulted was at the outset when their permission was sought for their sons and daughters to attend P.D. classes. Beyond this point, contact with parents had not been sustained. There seems to be an inconsistency, therefore, between the claim that parents must accept ultimate responsibility for the values developed by teenagers and the practice (in at least those schools with which I am familiar) of not involving parents in the conduct and formulation of a P.D.P. in schools. It seems apparent, then, that only when these issues mentioned above are resolved, will schools be able to present a valid personal development programme.

Perhaps the P.D.P. committee should also give consideration to the 'exemplar' roles of parents who are seen by some teenagers as inadequate models. Interpersonal relationships which have broken down in the home and which have resulted in the separation of parents, for example, may not predispose the teenager into believing that close affectional ties between sexual partners are either necessary or desirable. Again, parents who insist upon their children attending Sunday Schools and Church but who themselves fail to attend or support these institutions, are unlikely to convince their children of the value of these obligatory routines. Can schools which offer the P.D.P. provide any help to pupils who are victims of this kind of experience?

Despite the fact that the school pupil's apparent major concern is with successful performance in school subjects, is the pupil likely to feel sufficiently 'unthreatened' in a discussion group usually consisting of pupils of both sexes, to vent his most deeply felt personal concerns? Or does *"personal* development" imply something else? Pupils from third and fourth forms in one North Shore high school indicated unanimously to me that P.D. discussions which they were attending regularly were not concerned with 'personal' issues. For the most part, these 'discussion' groups had viewed movie films each week (films on contraception, birth, venereal disease etc.) and had 'talked about' these films afterwards. Well, if 'sex education' is only a part of the programme, what of the 'other parts'? Have teachers felt constrained, or ill-at-ease or

*At a recent screening of a film on masturbation, a group of trained teachers from independent schools walked out *en masse*. The film was one of several being used in an in-service programme on preparing teachers for personal development work. If this was offensive to them, then how many personal problems of adolescents would also be offensive to them? How would these teachers cope?

simply unprepared to provide a more comprehensive programme? One answer may depend on the fact that P.D. teachers have a somewhat limited training to prepare them for this work. Initial training involves full-time attendance for one week at in-service conferences organised by the P.D.P. committee. I want to say categorically at this point, that these initial training programmes are extremely well conducted, in addition to being highly informative. They do, however, leave the teacher with a great deal to assimilate in a very short space of time. Occasional refresher sessions where teachers have a chance to get together and exchange views are helpful. The more frequently the P.D. teacher is able to attend such sessions, the more likely is he to feel more competent and confident in this aspect of work. The schools also receive a regular publication entitled "Contact" which lists available teaching aids and includes brief articles on teaching methods suitable for the P.D.P. Nevertheless, there is at present, no systematic, comprehensive provision within institutions offering teacher education courses such as the Diploma of Teaching or the Graduate Diploma in Education, for the inclusion of units concerned with the conduct of personal development courses in schools. The Graduate Diploma in Education lecturing team at Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education met recently with four representatives of the departmental P.D.P. committee in order to consider a means of preparing secondary school trainee teachers for P.D. work. As a result of this meeting and subsequent ones among lecturers and students, it was decided to offer Diploma in Education students the opportunity to attend an optional one-week intensive training programme concerned with the P.D. course in secondary schools. This one-week experience would be arranged for the first week following cessation of lectures in the second (final) semester of the full-time diploma programme, and would be conducted and organised by the departmental P.D.P. committee in consultation with the College's staff-student committee for the Graduate Diploma in Education course. This may seem a somewhat insipid attempt to cater for this need. Yet it should be noted that in the one-week P.D. course, students would be free from other academic commitments (assignments, examinations etc.) and in a good position to devote their time to this work. Furthermore, the 30-40 hours when they would be in attendance at the one-week programme, represents a far more substantial time allocation than say, a one-hour per week (for a 15-week semester) allocation of time if a separate course unit had been developed. Nevertheless, the question of training teachers adequately for a role in P.D. work remains an important one, and teacher education institutions need to give close attention to the possibility of including in their degree and diploma courses, specific units which prepare teachers to meet responsibilities in this aspect of the secondary school curriculum.

Teaching Methods

Whilst there has been a considerable body of literature on the content or subject-matter of 'sex education', comparatively little has been written on the approaches and methods available to the classroom teacher in communicating this body of information. The most frequently heard lament of the P.D. teacher is: "I know what human sexuality is about. Tell me how to teach it in the

classroom." The P.D.P. Statement says very little on this matter. After making the comment that the P.D.P. is not just another subject (and therefore the implication is that it should not be taught in the same way as any other subject), the committee puts forward the following suggestions:

> "The methods would vary in the use made of seminars, lectures to large groups, small discussion groups, visits from outside helpers, formal class instruction, films and other audio-visual aids, student activity, student counselling and parent participation." (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, p. 15.)

Although such a varied format is at once impressive, it is not always practicable in terms of a school's organisational constraints. Aside from obvious timetabling difficulties (is the school timetable to be built principally around the P.D.P., or around other 'academic' subjects?), schools rarely are equipped for the variety of possible activities proposed. There is the further problem of educating pupils to be effective in some of these learning situations which are not characteristic of secondary schools. Are pupils, for instance, likely to benefit from 'seminars' where fellow pupils are unaware of their shared responsibilities as co-operating members or as leaders, particularly when some of the material is new and unfamiliar to them? I would like to make the observation that over a period of six years working with graduates undertaking professional teacher education courses in Educational Psychology (especially students who are largely ignorant of the psychological field), seminars conducted by the students have been mostly useless. At best they serve to highlight, in a superficial way, a limited number of theoretical principles; at worst they represent a sharing of the group's ignorance. This statement is not simply a reflection of my own views, but also of the opinions of many students who have suffered their way through such seminar programmes.

Some pedagogical theorists and sex educationists have referred to 'teaching methods' which may be applicable to the P.D.P. under present review. For example, Chesler and Fox (1966) have outlined role-playing procedures for situations dealing directly with sensitive interpersonal issues. These authors claim that "through classroom role-playing, the problems implicit in parent-child relations, value conflicts, racial relations, and dating and sex relations can be observed and discussed. By bringing feelings out into the open, and by considering and evaluating various alternative behaviours, students will be able to face the realities of their worlds with greater understanding and skill." (Chesler and Fox, 1966, pp. 77-78.) A slightly different approach using a written comprehension exercise was devised by myself to resolve the problem of a rejectee, in a metropolitan high school second form class, being victimised and bullied by his peers (Kaye, 1965, pp. 167-170). Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to suggest how a teacher can provide a course of instruction on human sexuality is the one by Schulz and Williams (1969). Each chapter contains suggestions as to how specified topics can be studied by pupils and taught by instructors at different grade levels. The 'methods' described by the authors can be reduced to five basic ones, which are:

1. Class discussion
2. Small group discussion
3. Guest speakers
4. Lectures by the teacher
5. The Question box (Schulz and Williams, 1969, p. 264).

Evidently the P.D.P. committee's thinking concerning the range of possible methods was similar to that of Schulz and Williams. Nevertheless the fact which is immediately most obvious is that these methods are not exclusively applicable to P.D. work. They are methods which have been used selectively and appropriately by many imaginative teachers working in other subject areas comprising the high school curriculum. Hence the question must be put: "If P.D. work involves the adoption and application of methods used in other aspects of the school curriculum, and if P.D. is to be regarded as more than just another subject, is it being adequately implemented in the classroom?" Should the answer be "yes", then any discussion of special methods for use with the P.D.P. is irrelevant, since the P.D.P. becomes a subject taught like any other subject.

It seems to me that the only sensible approach to this problem of selecting and identifying 'methods' for P.D. work is to encourage the teacher to:

(a) differentiate between the five 'areas' comprising the P.D. syllabus, and

(b) devise and test out various methods deemed suitable for each 'area'.

This is really no more than saying the teacher should exercise his initiative and be flexible and imaginative in his teaching. There are no prescriptions or blueprints for effective teaching in this or any other aspect of the teacher's work. In simple terms, the pupil will at times want to be told things. He will need to be given accurate information or he will need to be shown where to obtain information. There is little point in promoting discussion when the pupil is obviously not in possession of certain facts. Under such conditions, the learner may readily welcome a lecture, or the opportunity to work through a programmed learning unit or view a film. Once the pupil is in possession of 'facts' and has thought about these, he may want to discuss these or to have them clarified or explained in more detail. The learner's needs vary in such situations and presuppose a demand for a repertoire of teaching procedures which are constantly subject to re-examination, refinement, variation or deletion.

Probably a more crucial question which the teacher should ask himself is whether he is "getting through to" or "reaching" his group of learners. In other words, what steps can the teacher take to ensure that his choice of methods and strategy is 'paying off'? Within the framework of a non-assessable programme, assurances of success or failure are rather difficult to obtain. Techniques such as the self-analysis approach developed by T. Parsons (1975) (currently being used at Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education by Diploma in Education students undergoing their second major in-school experience) may need to be considered in connection with the P.D.P. Systematic self-analysis by means of self-confrontation via video-playback

and the encoding of specific events and episodes recorded on the tape may serve a useful purpose in providing the teacher with a cumulative record of his interactions with individual pupils. Consequent modifications to teaching technique or approach can thus be effected in the light of findings from self-evaluative exercises of this type. In the absence of other viable alternatives to ascertaining one's effectiveness in a teaching-learning situation, systematic self-analysis may provide the teacher with an indication of the *direction* he should take in changing his pattern of teaching behaviour. The teacher will be in a position, consequently, to do more than merely pay lip-service to the idea of being 'flexible'.

Concluding Comments and Implications

Despite the fact that some parents, churches and community organisations recognised earlier in this decade the need for schools to include personal development in the secondary curriculum, the "statement of principles" representing the guidelines of the P.D.P. committee in response to these pressures has left a number of questions unanswered. In the first place, there is no clear specification as to how the P.D.P. is to form an integral part of the curriculum. Is the P.D.P. to become yet another non-assessable appendage to an existing, predominantly academic educational programme? Are schools prepared to change their curricular emphases in the light of a new statement of aims, and consequently to change the expectations of the pupils enrolled? Even if there are answers to these questions, assuming that schools are prepared to do more than schedule one forty-minute P.D. lesson per week for each class, how are pupils to be grouped? In view of staffing shortages and problems of accommodation and facilities, how large will P.D. groups be? How often will these groups meet? Will they meet at predetermined times, or when the groups feel they would like to meet? Will the school organisation permit such flexibility?

If these questions can be answered, then other issues become critical. If teachers recognise the importance of the home as the major socialising and personalising agency, how can parents become involved with the P.D.P.? Even if parents cannot be available during the school day, should there be interaction between parents, pupils and teachers at other regular times? Would they meet on weekends, or on certain evenings of the week? Is the parental commitment to the P.D.P. sufficiently strong for them to do this? Can pupils afford the 'time' in view of homework demands outside of school hours? Can teachers afford extra time outside the school hours? Is it reasonable to expect this of them?

Let us assume that some arrangement can be made so that the P.D.P. becomes a "community involvement" project. Who is to co-ordinate the scheme? The parents? The teachers? The school counsellor? The school principal? Have any of these the necessary expertise, ability or time to organise such an undertaking? Although community involvement may be desirable, is it feasible?

Finally there must be some consideration of teachers and pupils. What sort of person is the effective P.D.P. teacher to be? A sounding board or an advocate of what he stands for? Is he to be a dispenser of factual information

or a promoter of interpersonal sensitivity? Or both? Is this a "tall order" for a teacher who has had practically no professional training for the role? Is training necessary? Or is it sufficient for a teacher to be socially and personally mature, ready to co-operate with others, and sensitive to the needs, feelings and problems of others? Can he reconcile his dual roles of subject matter specialist and personal development facilitator?

And most important of all, have there been any unwarranted assumptions about pupils? How many pupils see personal development as an essential aspect of schooling? Are pupils mainly looking for objective factual information about human sexuality, or are they mainly searching for an opportunity to solve personal problems? If the latter is the case, are they prepared to present these personal anxieties and concerns openly, frankly, honestly and unemotionally to fellow-pupils and/or the teacher? There is a case recorded of an encounter between a third-form girl and her teacher who describes the incident in this way:

> "Firstly, the example of a third-form girl, fairly precocious and outspoken. She was writhing around in her seat, complaining to me at the start of a lesson that she had bad stomach pains. The rest of the class was talking, unpacking bags, etc., so I quietly suggested that perhaps she'd eaten something bad. No. I suggested the 'flu'. No. Still the complaining, so finally I said, 'Perhaps you have your period.' Immediately there was a look of horror! I'd obviously mentioned the unspeakable." (Shelston, 1975, p. 35.)

Surely it is not surprising to find this pupil reacting as she did to her teacher's remarks. Undoubtedly this teacher was sincere in her efforts to diagnose the cause of the girl's discomfort. However, the 'look of horror' registered by the girl is not very surprising, and probably is representative of the reactions of a majority of girls if confronted at this sensitive stage of development with statements of this kind from teachers or from other adults with whom there is limited contact. Perhaps it is true, as Shelston suggests, that "today we are supposedly progressive, but we are Victorian in some respects". (Shelston, 1975, p. 39.) If this is the case, then some attention should be paid to the question of *how* the teacher can encourage her pupils to speak frankly, unemotionally and honestly on matters of deep personal concern to them.

All these questions collectively represent the doubts and misgivings that I and many other colleagues share about the P.S.E. under review. Unless they are seriously considered in relation to the realities of schooling today, and not taken for granted, I suspect that personal development will become a non-issue in schools, and correspondingly a more significant problem for parents.

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APPENDIX

Areas of Study in the Personal Development Programme. (P.D.P. Statement of Principles, 1974, pp. 20-22.)

A.—Biological Aspect:
- (a) stages of human growth;
- (b) differences between males and females;
- (c) puberty and adolescence;
- (d) human sexuality;
- (e) male and female reproductive systems;
- (f) menstruation;
- (g) conception, pregnancy and childbirth, miscarriage and abortion;
- (h) fertility and infertility;
- (i) change of life;
- (j) venereal disease;
- (k) contraception and family planning.

B.—Personal Development:
- (a) stages of growth and development;
- (b) keeping sexuality in proper perspective in life;
- (c) the need for a code of responsible sexual behaviour;
- (d) the making of informed decisions in sexual matters;
- (e) the development of satisfying personal relationships;
- (f) appreciation of the differences between, and differing needs of, boys and girls;
- (g) the problems of adolescence and puberty;
- (h) promiscuity;
- (i) masturbation;
- (j) homosexuality.

C.—Family Life:

(a) the significance of the family in our own and other societies and its changing role;

(b) roles in the family-examination of the assumptions about the different roles;

(c) the importance of the family to the individual and its influence on his development;

(d) relationships between members of the immediate and extended family and the importance of understanding and effective communication between them;

(e) the family as a socializing agent;

(f) family conflict;

(g) parent responsibilities towards children and children's responsibilities towards other members of the family.

D.—Social Aspects:

(a) examination of the assumptions about differing roles of men and women;

(b) the social consequences of sexual behaviour patterns;

(c) social attitudes to sexual matters;

(d) attitudes to different sexual behaviour patterns;

(e) marriage;

(f) illegitimacy;

(g) adoption;

(h) child care;

(i) educational and counselling agencies;

(j) population problems;

(k) social issues related to sex — obscenity, pornography, prostitution, abortion, censorship;

(l) the laws relating to sexual matters;

(m) exploitation of sex.

E.—Health:

The relationship of sex to general physical and mental well-being and desirable health practices.

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THE "SPECIAL CHILD" IN CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION

P. P. GORMAN

The term "special child" as used in this paper refers only to the child who possesses, or is thought to possess a mental, sensory or physical impairment to a sufficient degree whereby some form of special education is considered desirable or necessary. The child who is only culturally, socially, or emotionally disadvantaged is not considered here unless he also possesses a mental, sensory or physical impairment.

The sudden and greatly increased availability of funding in the last two years from Commonwealth Government resources ear-marked for special education found nearly all educational authorities, both governmental or non-governmental, unprepared. Few, if any of these authorities in the past had prepared master plans for the provision of special education facilities: even now, some of these authorities still have inadequate master plans.

The problem of cost accounting in the field of special education is even more acute. Although educational authorities sometimes are able to provide *per capita* costs in terms of primary, secondary and tertiary education, figures in terms of special education are extremely difficult to obtain. Special education often involves additional transport, special equipment, purpose designed buildings and rooms as well as considerably lower pupil-teacher ratios and necessarily create unusually high costs which would come as an unpleasant surprise to many people. It would also be a great surprise for these authorities if they were asked to justify these expenditures. This problem leads on to the question of accountability of this expenditure and the results from it, by whom and to whom? This issue is a very sensitive one—but is often concealed.

The Schools Commission, originally created as an Interim Committee in December 1972, serves as an excellent buffer between politicians and the increasing activities of the slowly growing number of pressure or advocacy groups representing certain categories of disabilities. The Commission enables a more objective and perhaps more equitable distribution of the available Commonwealth Government funds. If eventually this Commission were to be dissolved it would then become very important to know what kind of organisation would take its place, otherwise the distribution of these funds would once more be at the mercy of the politicians (and the pressure groups) and may not necessarily be in the best interests of the whole community.

The Schools Commission in its 1975 Report was rather critical about the serious anomaly whereby resources financed by and used by voluntary authorities were eligible for a Commonwealth subsidy on as much as a $4 to $1 basis while resources financed by and used by government authorities were ineligible for this subsidy. The Commission recommended that these subsidies for the provision of education should be centralised through one Commonwealth agency.[1] The proper balance to be achieved in the working relationship

[1]Schools Commission: *Report for the Triennium 1976-1978*. Canberra, AGPS, 1975, p. 179.

between government and voluntary authorities in terms of provision of special education is a delicate and still unclarified issue. The Schools Commission has clearly expressed its view that if special education facilities presently administered by voluntary authorities were offered to government authorities, the government should assume full responsibility for them.[2,3] Incidentally, the report produced by the Western Australian Council for Special Education in August 1975 strongly recommended that the State Government assume complete responsibility for all special educational activities presently provided by non-government authorities in that State.[4] I personally agree with this concept, and at the same time I see the role of the voluntary authorities also as one of creating or developing new facilities. If, after appropriate investigation by independent research authorities, facilities provided by voluntary authorities are shown to be both beneficial and justifiable, they should become the responsibility of the government thus freeing the funds of the voluntary authorities again for further innovations.

As early as May 1971, it was proposed that the Australian Universities Commission should encourage the establishment of at least one university Department of Special Education in each State.[5] Unfortunately, in some States, the comparatively small numbers of student teachers in special education to be trained each year, together with the problem of finding suitable staffing for these centres have created serious problems in maintaining the desirable high standards and degree of efficiency. The creation of fewer, more centralised and specialised facilities for teacher training in special education in one or two States with admission of students from various States might have been a better alternative. Admittedly, it is often very difficult for teachers to transfer from one educational authority to another one, even in the same State. This problem is due in part to difficulties in transfer of superannuation schemes, maintenance of seniority status on teacher registers, and restrictions in moving from one register to another, even within the same authority. The proposal in certain States to reduce the traditional three categories of primary, secondary and technical registers to two would ensure greater flexibility, while the intention in another State to create an extra register, namely, of special education teachers is greatly to be deplored. At the same time, the Commonwealth funding for the establishment or maintenance of training courses for teachers in special education unfortunately failed to ensure that the qualifications obtained on completion of these courses should reach a minimal standard acceptable to all Australian educational authorities, particularly in view of the present historical autonomy of Australian teacher training facilities. There is a very real possibility that in at least one State the level of some of these qualifications in special education is becoming so low that they would

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[2]Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission: *Schools in Australia*. Canberra, AGPS. 1973, p. 111.

[3]Schools Commission: Op. cit., p. 173.

[4]Western Australian Council for Special Education: *Education of Cerebral Palsied Children in Western Australia: Report to the Minister for Education*. Perth, W.A. Council for Special Education, 1975.

[5]Senate Standing Committee on Health and Welfare: Report on Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons in Australia. Parliamentary Paper No. 45, Canberra, CGPO, 1971, p. 17.

no longer be acceptable to some employing authorities. As a result, these particular courses would either have to be discontinued or else be up-graded in quality. The maintenance of desirable standards for the training courses in special education would be made much easier if the lecturing staff on these courses were required to undertake occasional fieldwork to up-date their background on current problems in special education.

The teacher in the special school or special class usually receives an increased salary. What would be the situation if an increasing number of teachers in regular classes were asked to take one or more "special" children in their classes? A form of work parity but not necessarily salary parity may be achieved instead by arranging for these teachers to have smaller numbers of pupils to compensate for the presence of the "special" children in their classes. Incidentally, Ross Shaw, a Special Education Consultant in New South Wales, has remarked that if and when a vast force of teachers of special children is created, the regular class teachers may see each individual difference as a form of "exceptionality" and thus call for help from specialist teachers. Eventually, there would be no pupils left in the regular classrooms![6]

There appears to be a strong impression within the Australian educational system that staff and students involved in training courses for teachers in special education are seen as having a significantly lower social status, both in terms of selection, and in leadership, when compared with staff and students involved with other forms of teacher-training. If, upon investigation, substantial evidence is found for this impression, then steps should be taken to reduce or, better still, to eliminate this undesirable adverse social status situation.

At present, the supply in Australia of personnel possessing significant "in-depth" awareness of special education as a whole is extremely limited. The present, and probably undesirable, trend towards regionalisation of services in special education may lead to disastrous consequences if this limited personnel is to work on a regional rather than on a state or national basis. The gradually increasing output of graduates from teacher-training courses in special education will do little to improve this situation, since few of these graduates will possess both the necessary experience and insight required.

Secondary education is presently oriented towards preparation for university admittance. While some secondary level schools known as "free" or "community" schools are attempting to move away from a "subject" approach there is also a current trend observable in many secondary level schools to have subject-oriented rather than child-oriented courses. Schools which integrate "special" children should preferably have the first four years child-oriented, with the next two years subject-oriented to satisfy university, vocational or trade requirements. Understandably, the final two years require specific expertise in these subjects. There should be more emphasis for vocational education to meet the needs of "special" children, particularly for programmes involving work experience, orientation and preparation, vocational placement, and training in specific skills. Technical classes are based on

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[6]Shaw, R. McL., Special Education Consultant, Department of Education, N.S.W. Personal communication, 1976.

the concept of apprenticeship, which necessitates the responsibility of finding a job in order to continue this education. Nowadays a higher standard of education is being required, so it in turn becomes necessary to receive further education to get a job. Certain categories of "special" children possess significant limitations in mental, physical and sensory potential which may exclude them from technical education unless additional resources are provided. The work preparation centre has a very important role for some of these excluded categories. An increasing tendency is to be observed among some educators of certain categories of "special" children to become fully involved in work preparation and possibly also in work placement. This involvement may lead to waste or dissipation of limited resources in terms of educational staffing and other resources, and also in duplication with other resources available elsewhere which may be more appropriate but possibly not yet actually used for that purpose. This situation brings up the problem of clarifying what the concept of "special education" ought to cover. When educators of "normal" children are not able to agree among themselves on the aims of general education, then the definition of "special education" becomes even more complex. In addition, it is possible that some educators would question the statement that "special" children are more in need of vocational education than are "normal" children.

Siegel has shrewdly commented on the fact that "the educational establishment seems especially vulnerable to facts and fancies. New slogans work their way into public consciousness: they have a measure of face validity, and soon we are swept up in a new tide. We need only look in on our neighbours in special education, with their proliferation of models, systems and terminology, to see what chaos this can create."[7]

The 1975 Report of the Schools Commission expresses very clearly its view that a larger proportion of "special" children should be integrated with "normal" children in regular schools but no guidelines to achieve this desired integration were offered.[8] The failure in the past to define more clearly this concept of integration has led to much confusion and misunderstanding concerning its possibilities. The very wide variations in potentialities observable among "special" children necessitates an extremely flexible approach in integration, or what I prefer to describe as "assimilation" if it is to be of maximal value to all these children irrespective of their potentialities.

I have drawn up the following theoretical model to illustrate the basic degrees of assimilation possible in a regular school which has some specially equipped and staffed classrooms for "special" children physically incorporated in its general structure.[9]

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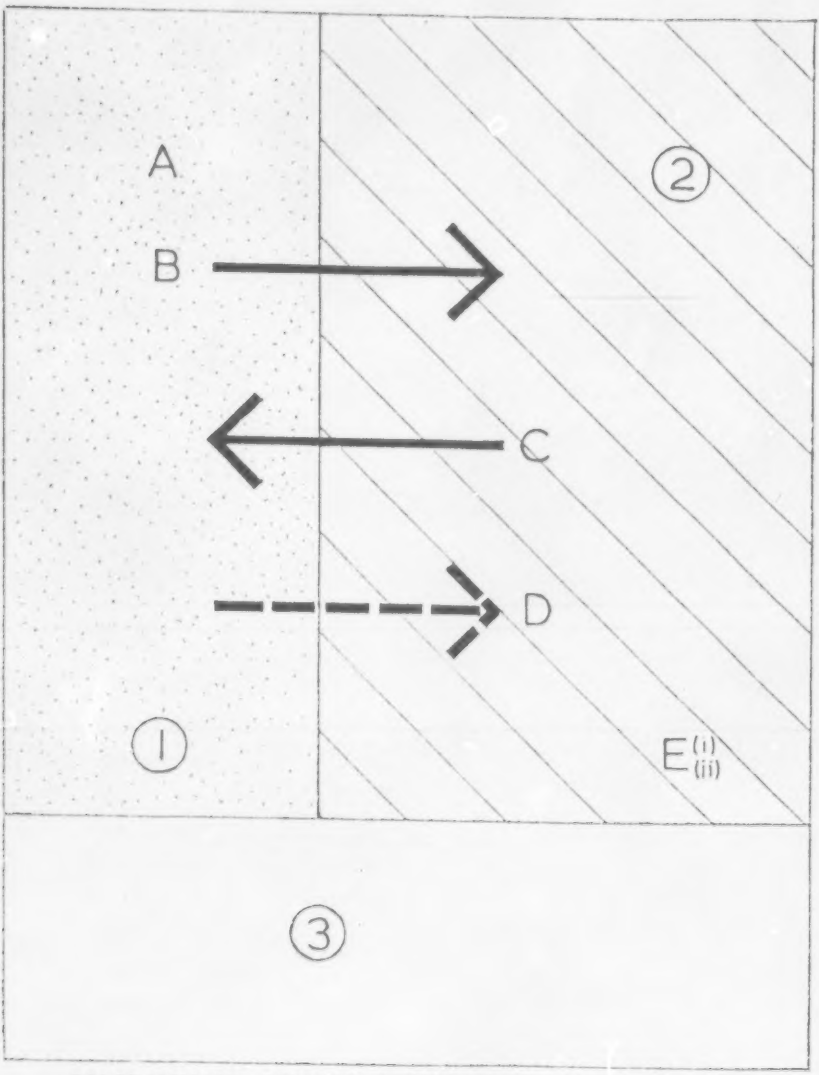
[7]Siegel, G. M.: "The High Cost of Accountability", *ASHA 1975*, 17, pp. 796-797.

[8]Schools Commission: Op. cit., pp. 170-172.

[9]Gorman, P. P.: "Provision of Secondary Facilities for Hearing Impaired Students, in Access to Secondary Education for Hearing Impaired Students". *Papers in Special Education Number One*, Burwood State College Institute of Special Education, 1975, pp. 5-11.



DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL AREAS WITHIN THE SCHOOL

This diagram depicts three main areas, namely:

1. classrooms for "special" children,
2. classrooms for "normal" children,
3. non-academic activities for all children, including craft-room, assembly hall, gymnasium, meal room and play area.

At least five forms of assimilation situations for "special" children can take place in this type of school, namely:

(A) For children who require continuous education in their own special classrooms by their own specialist teachers because they have serious difficulties in communication, language and social interaction.

(B) For children who are usually educated in special classrooms, but have sufficient attainments to participate occasionally in the regular school classroom environment.

(C) For children who are usually educated in regular classrooms, but require to come occasionally to the "special classroom" environment for specialised guidance or tuition.

(D) For children who are continuously in the regular classroom, but require occasional visits by the specialist teacher for guidance or counselling, either directly or through their regular teacher.

(E) For children who are in the regular classrooms and do not require specialised help from a specialist teacher during school hours although special facilities and equipment may be provided. These children can be sub-divided into (i) those who receive additional tuition in some form either during, or outside school hours, and (ii) those who do not require additional tuition of any kind.

All these "special" children are involved in non-academic school activities, e.g. in the craft-room, assembly hall, gymnasium, lunch room, and play area. This scheme of variable assimilation of different children inside the one school administration is based on an idea of Michael Reed, Inspector of Special Education, Inner London Education Authority for application with hearing-impaired children.[10] The main emphasis of this model is to ensure the greatest possible social interaction of these "special" children with the rest of the school population, particularly in the non-academic activities, so that even if the "special" children are not able to participate fully with the others, they can at least observe and experience how the other children behave and communicate. In other words, the "special" child is encouraged to develop a greater social conformity more in accordance with what would be expected in the open community, hence a better social acceptance for these "special" children both within and outside the school should be achieved.

The growing interest in human sexuality shown in the general community during the last decade is now being reflected in the Australian educational system. However, little has been done in terms of human sexuality of the "special" child, with very few articles on this theme published so far.[11] The New South Wales Department of Education held a very successful full-time residential in-service seminar last year on "Sexuality and the Handicapped" attended by about 50 participants. Some information arising from this seminar will be published later this year.[12] It is essential that education

[10]Reed, M.: "Integration of Hearing Handicapped in a Hearing Community". In Scandinavian Audiology Supplementum 2, 1972, pp. 76-82.

[11]Gorman, P. P.: "Sexuality and the Disabled Person". In *Social Biology Resources Centre Bulletin*, 1975, 1, 3, pp. 3-6.

[12]Shaw, R. McL.: Op. cit.

on this subject should be seen as a continuous process throughout the school life of the "special" child and not treated as a single subject. As one educator commented, it would be terrible if the class teacher were to say "Now we have finished maths, let's now turn to sex!"[13] Or, as another educator stated, it would be even worse in reverse!

The steadily increasing development in special education means that hopefully a larger proportion of these "special" children will become more fully involved in general community affairs. There is therefore a greater case for objective knowledge by both "normal" and "special" persons on sexuality needs and fulfilment of impaired persons particularly in terms of marriage and the desirability or otherwise of having children.

The publication in May 1971 of the Australian Senate "Report on Mentally and Physically Handicapped Persons in Australia"[14] created a much greater awareness for the urgent need to rationalise the complex and often overlapping governmental and voluntary services now available for handicapped people. More recently the Australian Council of Social Services expressed this problem in an extremely effective way, saying that there is a need "to achieve co-ordination and rationalisation in an area fraught with territorial squabbles and power struggles".[15] The recent report "Towards Rational Administrative Structures for Health and Welfare Services in Australia" for the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration merits careful study. Both health and welfare are now being seen as a continuous process from birth (or before birth) to old age but, unfortunately, education is still too often seen purely as a process from perhaps 5 to say 16 + years, or less commonly into the early twenties, and was not given much consideration in this report.

This failure so far to consider the overall functions of health, social welfare and education as an interlocking entity has been particularly harmful for the "special" child. Workers from an increasing number of disciplines are in contact with the special child, but confusion on their roles has led to unnecessary overlapping or even conflict or, at other times, serious gaps in the services provided by these workers. The conflict which used to exist between medical workers and education appears to be shifting to one between psychologists and educators. The recently published summary of evidence prepared by the British Psychological Society presented to the Enquiry into Special Education set up by the Department of Education and Science in London gives a clear indication of this possibility.[16]

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[13]Shaw, R. McL.: Op. cit.

[14]Senate Standing Committee on Health and Welfare: Op. cit.

[15]Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration: *Towards Rational Administrative Structures for Health and Welfare Services in Australia: Report of the Health-Welfare Task Force*. Canberra, AGPS, 1975, p. 330.

[16]Mittler, P. (Chairman): Summary of evidence presented by the British Psychological Society to the Enquiry into Special Education set up by the Department of Education and Science. In Bulletin British Psychological Society, 1976, 29, pp. 1-6.

The present unsatisfactory situation of confusion in defining special education, teacher-training standards and roles of various disciplines involved in special education is partly due to conflicting or incomplete information. Thus, there is need of a special national body of educational authorities to assume responsibility in indicating what kind of information is needed. For obvious reasons of possible bias or political expediency, this body should not undertake research, but request universities or other appropriate independent research bodies to investigate these topics. The results thus obtained should be then evaluated and afterwards passed on to the appropriate educational authorities for possible application in their systems. As Bolton points out, the practitioners (the counsellors, educators, psychologists and other categories of workers) and the researchers in the field of special education must acquire respect for the tasks confronting each other.[17] Practitioners are in the best position to pose research questions, but these questions are often not in a form readily amenable to scientific investigation. Working together, practitioners and researchers should be able to frame important questions in a form which can be researched.

The absence of a national body specially charged with the collection, storage and dissemination of information on special education has led to considerable waste or duplication of time, material or staff. However, last year a number of state organisations of teachers in special education came together to form the Australian Association of Special Education. Most of these constituent organisations are concerned with intellectually impaired children. Unfortunately, the various Australian national and state organisations of teachers working with other categories of "special" children tend to maintain their traditional isolation from one another and from the teacher organisations for "normal" children. If, however, they can be persuaded to join this Australian Association, a very significant step will be achieved.

The first issue of the new Association's "Australian Journal of Special Education" appeared in March this year.[18] A much needed, valuable and effective interchange of information and communication on a national level between the workers in the various disciplines who work with the "special" child and educators in the field of special education would be established if the contents of future issues of this journal are carefully edited so as to ensure a broad interdisciplinary coverage of issues concerning all categories of "special" children.

Acute and rarely studied problems are known to confront "special" children from other ethnic groups, namely (a) migrant groups and (b) aborigines. Both groups experience peculiar problems arising from cultural and language differences and considerable research is urgently needed to determine the most suitable and effective forms of special education for each of these two groups.

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[17]Bolton, B.: "Research in Deafness: Some Implications for Education and Rehabilitation". In *Rehabilitation Research and Practice Review*, 1971, 3, 3, pp. 1-4.

[18]Richardson, B. E. (ed.): *Australian Journal of Special Education*. Chidley Education Centre, Mosman Park, W.A. 6012.

Special education at present is oriented towards the reduction of the constraints which arise directly from the medical and functional aspects of the mental, sensory and physical impairment possessed by the "special" child. The "special" child also experiences considerable social constraints which are imposed on him as the result of his possession of an impairment. Unfortunately insufficient objective studies have been made on the impact of these social constraints on him, particularly when he leaves school. The establishment of lectureships within teacher training colleges on the social and educational issues arising from exceptionality merits serious consideration. Student teachers preparing for general and special education would thus obtain a more realistic background on exceptionality, and, in particular, the social constraints arising from exceptionality. As a result, teachers in the field of special education would understand the necessity to prepare more appropriate forms of management or treatment whereby their "special" pupils are better equipped to cope with the social constraints imposed on them. Also, from the general education aspect, a certain number of "normal" children acquire impairments through accident, illness or increasing age; some also become parents of impaired children. If teachers in "regular" schools are able to impart a more realistic approach towards exceptionality, these children will possess a better understanding of some of the social constraints arising from impairments, if and when they occur.[19]

[19]Gorman, P. P.: "Handicap ed by Society: Educating 'Normal' Children Towards Acceptance". *Educational Magazine*, Department of Education, Melbourne, 31, 6, pp. 8-10.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

W. J. McGRATH

In the space available it is not possible to cover all aspects of bilingual education in the Northern Territory. Consequently, a number of areas of interest have been omitted from this paper, including the vexed question of evaluation, specific details of school organisation, curriculum and materials development, training of staff — both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and bilingual programs for migrant children in the N.T. although some brief reference may occasionally be made to some of these areas.

The main areas covered are: Background to the implementation of bilingual education, a definition, some aims, types of bilingual program, criteria for establishment of bilingual education programs, the Bilingual Education Consultative Committee, some problems and some highlights.

As I have been deeply involved in the development of bilingual education in the Northern Territory from its beginning in 1973 I have a problem in attempting to present this paper from a purely objective point of view.

Background to Implementation

One of the first policy statements from the new Labor Government in December 1972 was that a campaign would be launched to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages.

As a result, the Minister for Education set up an Advisory Group of three to examine the nature and extent of the resources available and in the light of its findings to make recommendations for the implementation of a program involving teaching in Aboriginal languages and the incorporation in the school curriculum of other aspects of traditional Aboriginal culture. The members of the Advisory Group were Dr. Betty H. Watts, then Reader in Education at the University of Queensland, Mr. J. L. Tandy, a senior Education officer of the Department of Education in Canberra, and Mr. W. J. McGrath, Inspector of Schools in the Aboriginal Education Branch in the Northern Territory.

As a result of three weeks of discussions with members of Aboriginal communities, both collectively and individually, teachers, linguists and senior administrative and professional officers experienced in Aboriginal affairs, and a study of relevant literature the Group felt that a bilingual approach made most sense not only to educationists and linguists but also to the Aboriginal people themselves.

Consequently a report entitled "Bilingual Education in Schools in Aboriginal Communities in the Northern Territory", was submitted to the Minister for Education. This report was debated in Federal Parliament on 15th March 1973 and unanimously adopted.

Programs of bilingual education commenced in five schools in the Northern Territory in the same year.

It should be pointed out that prior to the implementation of Federal Government policy, church and mission groups had pioneered bilingual

education programs on a small scale in the Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. The South Australian Education Department had also adopted the policy of bilingual education in its small number of tribally oriented Aboriginal schools. Nevertheless, it can be stated with little fear of contradiction that the first large scale implementation of bilingual education in Australia commenced in 1973 in the Northern Territory.

Definition

Bilingual education is *not* just "education for bilinguals" nor is it merely an English as a Second Language program, although E.S.L. is a necessary part. It is an educational program in which two languages are media of instruction. In the Northern Territory one of those languages is English and the other an Aboriginal language accepted by the local community. The Watts, McGrath, Tandy Report adopted the definition formulated by the United States Government in framing its Bilingual Education Act (Title VII ESEA):

> "Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organised program which encompasses part or all the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures."

Some Aims of Bilingual Education

Because of the different natures of the communities where bilingual programs operate (or may do so) objectives within the respective programs may well differ from place to place. However, it is generally agreed that the aims which follow would be applicable to all centres. These aims are not arranged in any particular order.

(a) *To present subject matter of the school program in the language most suitable for the instructional purpose, bearing in mind the language proficiency of the children and the special needs of specific areas of study.*

In other words some subject matter is best taught in the Aboriginal language and other in English. In the early classes when a child may have at best only an imperfect knowledge of English, it would be totally inappropriate for example, to conduct a Health lesson in English. At the same time where Aboriginal languages do not have a precise number system it might be considered more appropriate to use English number terms and to conduct Maths lessons in English as soon as is practicable. Some lessons may be best taught in the Aboriginal language right through primary school, for example those aspects of Social Studies which relate directly to tribal life, and the traditional aspects of natural science.

(b) *To develop competency in reading and writing in the Aboriginal language.*

There is a considerable school of thought now which asserts that a person learns to read and write once only and that the skills associated with this are transferred when a second or third language is learned. It is stating the obvious when we say a person will most easily acquire literacy skills in

his mother tongue. Thus, if an Aboriginal child is taught these skills in the language he knows, understands and uses in everyday life, he is far more likely to attain proficiency in reading and writing. These skills can then be transferred to English when a sufficient command of oral English has been achieved.

Many Aboriginal people have expressed the desire to be able to write down in their own language those things of their traditions which they hold dear.

Others have more mundane reasons, including the wish to have legal documents translated to their own language, including details which have been written on land rights.

There has been almost no opposition from Aboriginal people to developing competency in reading and writing in their own language. What opposition has occurred appears to have come from the misconception that the white man does not want them to learn English and thus be able to compete more easily with them.

(c) *To develop competency in reading and writing in English.*

Without exception, Aboriginal communities have expressed the opinion that English must be taught in primary schools also — their language and English. Because of the multiplicity of Aboriginal languages, and the totally impracticable task of translating secondary school materials into Aboriginal languages, high school education will always be in English. Aboriginal children must then develop proficiency in English if they are to have any chance at high school. It is also clearly recognised by the Aboriginal people that English is essential for communication purposes outside their own community.

(d) *To develop sufficient skill in the use of Oral English before attempting to teach specific subject areas in that language.*

Most learning in the first couple of years of school appears to be able to be done in an Aboriginal language. The basic early concepts certainly can be taught better in a language the children know and understand than in one they do not. An emphasis is thus placed on teaching the children to speak English before learning is done in that language.

(e) *To foster greater proficiency in school work, and a better understanding of it, by use of the Aboriginal language where appropriate.*

The majority of evidence from bilingual programs for preliterate peoples overseas seems to indicate that if early learning is done in the mother tongue of the children greater proficiency in school work is achieved later on in the national language.

(f) *To develop a more healthy self-concept in each child through the systematic use of the Aboriginal language as a medium of instruction, and the incorporation of studies of other aspects of Aboriginal culture in the curriculum.*

The use of the Aboriginal language has, for many years, been actively discouraged in many schools in Aboriginal communities. Many instances of

children being punished or ridiculed for the use of their language at school abound. In the same way the traditional Aboriginal way of life has often been treated with contempt. It is little wonder then that Aboriginal people who have passed through our school system have developed poor self-concepts and have often responded in such a way as to confirm the poor opinions which were expressed so overtly to them. Hopefully a respect for the Aboriginal language and other aspects of Aboriginal culture and their incorporation in the school curriculum may assist in the development of more healthy self-concepts and the resultant benefits this would have to the lives of the Aboriginal people.

(g) *To develop closer communication, involvement and mutual understanding between school and community.*

In some Aboriginal communities the school is viewed with mistrust and disillusionment. The school is often blamed for problems the elders have in maintaining their authority over the young. The older members of the community who have had no schooling have no real understanding of what is going on at school. Hopefully, in a bilingual-bicultural program where there is a much greater participation in the school program by the Aboriginal people, including the elders who take charge of teaching aspects of Aboriginal culture, some of this mistrust and suspicion will be broken down and the school will truly become part of the community and truly reflect community ideals and beliefs.

(h) *To develop better understanding of both cultures — that of the Aboriginal people themselves (and not only of a particular community) and of the dominant non-Aboriginal society.*

So often, when the sole teacher is a white middle-class Australian the only values taught to the Aboriginal children have been those of white middle-class Australian society which are often in conflict with the values of the Aboriginal society in which the child will probably spend most of his life. In the team teaching situation where a major role is played by an Aboriginal teacher the values of both cultures can be imparted. It is interesting to note also that different Aboriginal groups often regard other groups with suspicion, hostility and fear.

Hopefully, a better understanding of other Aboriginal groups can be developed. Some breakdown in this suspicion, hostility and fear is occurring by the close contact Aboriginal teachers have in their teacher training programs with others from different communities. As an illustration: recently a fairly well-educated Aboriginal from an isolated island community in the north of the Northern Territory accompanied the Bilingual Education Consultative Committee on a visit to schools in Central Australia. Before the trip he expressed some trepidation about travelling to a "foreign country" and required some assurances that he would be safe on the trip. As it turned out, he met at least one person in each community he visited whom he had met during his teacher training. These people in turn introduced him to the community as a friend. Not so many years ago this may not have happened.

Types of Bilingual Programs

With the expansion of bilingual programs it became possible to define more closely the types of bilingual program which were evolving. There appear to be four types:

(a) programs based on initial literacy in the Aboriginal language, followed by literacy in English (where there is a practical orthography in the Aboriginal language, and where materials are available for teaching initial literacy in that language);

(b) programs based on early instruction in the Aboriginal language but with initial literacy in English (where a practical orthography in the Aboriginal language may not have been established and/or where materials are not available for teaching initial literacy in that language);

(c) revival programs (where a community has asked for an Aboriginal language no longer spoken by the children to be revived and taught in the school); and

(d) "elective" programs (where, generally in multi-lingual communities, children are given the opportunity to do work in their own language — usually the older groups).

A different approach is necessarily followed in each type of program, thus more detail is now given to describe precisely how each operates. Pre-school programs which are basically oral in nature and thus similar in all schools with bilingual education will be described separately first of all.

Pre-school

Pre-schools cater for children of the 3+ and 4+ age groups. During the first year nearly all activities are conducted in the Aboriginal language. The non-Aboriginal teacher uses English in an informal way with the children to enable them to become familiar, to some extent, with its use, learning to follow simple instructions and recognising that there is another language besides their own. During the second year a more formal type of English program is introduced where the non-Aboriginal teacher conducts short activities with small groups in the English language with the aim of teaching some basic vocabulary and structures. Again the major proportion of the activities is conducted in the Aboriginal language by Aboriginal teachers. Work is usually prepared and planned in a team approach with the non-Aboriginal teacher frequently assuming a teacher-trainer role where necessary.

Type (a)

After following a readiness program, which may have commenced in the Pre-school, children begin to learn the skills of reading and writing in their own language. The time of starting this varies with the maturity of the pupils but usually commences some time during second term. During this year the majority of other work is carried out in the Aboriginal language. A structured Oral English program is also commenced with from thirty to forty-five minutes per day being devoted to this. During the second year (6+ age group)

the reading and writing program in the Aboriginal language is continued and the English program is expanded to about one hour per day. In some schools Maths is now taught in both languages. Also it has been found that some children have completed the basic primer series and are ready to commence a reading program in English. In other schools the progress has been slower and reading in English will not commence until the following year (age 7+). By that year it is anticipated that about half the program will be in English. In subsequent years the majority of the work will be in English with about an hour per day being devoted to work in the Aboriginal language.

Type (b)

During the first year after Pre-school (age 5+) the majority of the program is conducted in the Aboriginal language with about 45 minutes to one hour per day being devoted to English. Here the principle followed is that the children can best learn in their own language until they acquire a sufficient command of English. Some time in the second year, depending on the development of the pupils, a start is made on literacy in English while a number of subjects continue to be taught in the Aboriginal language. By the end of the next year (age 7+) about half the work is done in English, and in subsequent years the majority of the work will be in English with about an hour per day being devoted to work in the Aboriginal language.

Type (c)

Revival programs have commenced in only one school as yet, and it is envisaged that these will necessarily involve teaching the language, probably commencing with the older children in the school.

Type (d)

One "elective" program is operating in an Aboriginal community. (It is interesting to note that one High School has commenced a course in an Aboriginal language using Aboriginal students in the school as tutors and another is keen to commence one.)

It should also be mentioned that all bilingual schools make provisions for the teaching of aspects of Aboriginal culture. This is done by the Aboriginal teachers or members of the local community or both. In some cases the cultural program is carried out at the school and in others in specially designated areas away from the school depending on the wishes of those teaching. In short, all bilingual programs could more accurately be referred to as bilingual-bicultural programs.

Criteria for the Establishment of Bilingual Education Programs

In the establishment of bilingual programs or the preparation for such programs there are certain criteria which need to be observed to ensure the greatest chance of success.

These are:

(a) the agreement and support of the community in principle for the introduction of a bilingual program. (Where such a move is initiated by the

school staff, consultation with the community to gauge its reaction is necessary before the Education Department is prepared to support and assist the development of bilingual education.)

(b) the agreement and support of the community for the use of a particular Aboriginal language as a medium of instruction. (Particularly vital in a multilingual or multi-dialectical community.)

(c) Aboriginal teachers or teaching assistants available to carry out instruction in the Aboriginal language;

(d) suitable non-Aboriginal teachers to form effective teaching teams with the Aboriginal teachers;

(e) a basic reading scheme in the language and supporting supplementary materials;

(f) a resident linguist or a linguist familiar with the language who is readily available to provide advice and assistance when required; and

(g) agreement and co-operation of the school principal and his staff. (The total school needs either to be committed to a bilingual program or at least have an open mind regarding it. A bilingual program needs to be an integral part of total school organisation and not a semi-autonomous unit within it.)

It will be obvious that not all these criteria will apply to each type of bilingual program mentioned. There is no doubt, however, that criteria (a), (b), (d) and (g) will be necessary in any type of program. Criteria (e) and (f) become essential in a program based on initial literacy in the Aboriginal language, but may not be so in a program where early instruction is in the Aboriginal language but initial literacy is in English.

For the revival type of program criterion (e) may not be essential in the early stages where only oral language is taught.

Bilingual Education Consultative Committee

One of the recommendations of the Watts, McGrath, Tandy Report was that a Consultative Committee including an Educationist, a suitably qualified linguist and an anthropologist be appointed to review the bilingual education program from time to time and to provide guidance as required in regard to policy aspects of the program. This Committee subsequently established includes in its membership in addition an Assistant Director of the Northern Territory Department of Education as Chairman, the Principal Education Adviser, Bilingual Education, as Executive officer and members from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the Canberra office of the Department of Education, and the National Aborigines Consultative Committee.

At the date of writing this paper, the Consultative Committee had met four times for periods of an average of one week. Reports of these meetings have been published and are available from the Department of Education on request.

Some Problems Associated with the Program

As with the highlights of the bilingual program in the Northern Territory I have listed only five problems associated with it. These are only a sampling of the many problems and perhaps the not quite so many highlights.

(a) *Retention of Aboriginal Staff*

On the whole this is a problem which has largely been overcome. The majority of Aboriginal staff associated with bilingual classes appear to have identified well with the program and there has been little turnover. A short term problem which has emerged is associated with a growing interest in training courses by untrained or partially trained Aboriginal teachers. A number who work with bilingual classes have applied to attend training courses. Perhaps this should be regarded as a highlight, but the problem of their temporary replacement while training has arisen.

(b) *Retention of non-Aboriginal Staff*

This is not a problem confined to schools with bilingual programs but one which faces all schools in remote areas in the Northern Territory.

At a rough guess, non-Aboriginal teachers remain in remote schools for an average of no more than two years. Thus by the time non-Aboriginal teachers have adapted to the new roles required of them in a bilingual program, many leave the school and replacements have to go through the same process. It will be obvious this will have a detrimental effect on any school program, and especially in an innovative one such as a bilingual program. However, it must be stated that there is a growing small core of non-Aboriginal teachers who are developing a great degree of expertise in bilingual education and appear committed to the field of Aboriginal education. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to assume that many schools in Aboriginal communities will acquire staff prepared to spend a considerable proportion of their teaching careers living in isolated areas.

(c) *Development of Materials and Literature*

The problem of developing a literature in a non-literate tradition is possibly one which cannot be comprehended until an attempt is made to produce the range of materials required. While there has been a considerable build up of materials in Aboriginal languages over the past three years there is a very long way to go before each school has its complete needs satisfied. Many schools now have a primer series for teaching initial literacy in the language of the community. Some schools in co-operation with linguists have also developed readiness materials, workbooks for the written language program and supplementary readers. In addition some schools have a few booklets on natural science and social studies. However, the range of materials is not sufficient at this stage to extend fully all pupils at their particular levels. There is also a need for the development of maths, social studies, natural science and oral language programs in the Aboriginal language. Many schools now employ Aboriginal people on a part-time basis to prepare materials in the Aboriginal language for use in the school.

This has proved useful in providing a source of more material, but at this stage of development all material has to be checked by a competent linguist

to ensure regularity of spelling and syntax — and there is usually only one overworked person available for this. Also, because of variety of language, much of the material needs to be produced locally in the first instance and this requires the establishment of literature production centres, with a small staff competent to mock up books and produce materials which can be sent away later for more professional finishing. Commercial printers are not interested in producing this material simply because there would be a very, very limited market for the finished product.

Finally, there has been a prolonged battle to persuade the powers that be that there is a pressing need for the employment of supervisors of literature production and literature writers. One gem of a query received after about one year of negotiation was, "Why can't we employ a team of eight people to spend a couple of months in a community, create the material required, and then move on to another?"

(d) *Number of Languages and Dialects*

There are about 137 languages and dialects in the Northern Territory. In only four instances does more than one community use a common language. One language is used by two communities in three instances and in three communities in one instance. Consequently materials produced in one language can rarely be used in more than one or two communities. The large number of languages and dialects and a relatively small number of linguists prepared to produce orthographies for literacy programs have resulted in only a limited number to have been analysed to the stage where there is sufficient information available for the languages to be used in a school program. In fact, it is only in the last ten years that any great strides have been made in this direction.

(e) *Providing Training for Aboriginal Teachers*

As many as forty Aboriginal people attend training courses for teaching assistants and/or teachers at the Vocational Training Centre at Batchelor (60 miles from Darwin) each year. However, there is a significant number who cannot attend residential courses for a number of reasons, including family commitments, reluctance of parents to agree to daughters (in particular) leaving home and community responsibilities and commitments. In the main the people affected are the more mature ones whose services are so valuable to the school. Numbers of localised in-service courses have been provided by school staff for these people. In 1976 a pilot on-site training scheme for Aboriginal teachers commenced at Yirrkala, with ten members participating in the equivalent of a first year course provided for Aboriginal teachers at the residential centre of Batchelor. Depending on the success of this pilot program such training will be carried out in other centres in subsequent years and thus create a pool of Aboriginal teachers with some training.

Some Highlights of the Program

(a) *The Professional Development of the Aboriginal Teachers*

After an initial period of adjustment during which most Aboriginal teachers became accustomed to their new roles, the majority, especially those with some training behind them were encouraged and assisted in taking more

responsibility than previously, and showed considerable professional development. Being able to teach in their own language has generally given all these teachers more confidence and this is shown in the way classes and subject matter are handled. Problems still exist in many cases with programming of work, but again those with the more training or experience are accepting more and more responsibility for this. In many cases, the instructional side of the Aboriginal teachers' role compares quite favourably with that of experienced non-Aboriginal teachers.

A further example of the growing professionalism of Aboriginal teachers is the organisation of two conferences by some of these teachers during 1975. These conferences were called to discuss aspects of bilingual education and in particular the use of their languages in the school program. These conferences held in Aboriginal communities were the first to be convened on the initiatives of Aboriginal people themselves, and show concrete evidence of acceptance of responsibility for education of their own people and the new role which has developed for Aboriginal teachers since the commencement of programs of bilingual education. It is interesting to note that these two conferences were held over long week-ends and that another is planned for 1976 during term holidays, "so the kids don't miss any school".

(b) *The Growing Number and Expertise of Aboriginal Writers*

In a number of centres, there have now emerged some very competent writers in Aboriginal languages. An increasing number of Aboriginal people are seeking to be literate in their own tongue and many of these are contributing to the growing volume of materials in Aboriginal languages. Until fairly recently most materials in Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory have been written by white linguists, admittedly frequently using Aboriginal "informants" but nevertheless still produced by non-Aboriginals. In about the last ten years or so much greater emphasis has been given particularly by linguists employed by Missions or the Summer Institute of Linguistics to encouraging adult literacy in Aboriginal languages frequently in the face of much criticism. Thus with the commencement of bilingual education in the Northern Territory there was a small nucleus of adult Aborigines in some centres who could be employed as writers to prepare materials in their own language for school use. A number of young people in late teens and early twenties are now developing their talents in the area, one in which they can truly express themselves. A related highlight, directly a result of the introduction of bilingual education, is the establishment of the School of Australian Linguistics within the Darwin Community College. This school has been set up to train Aboriginal people in linguistics and in particular to enable them to look at their own language and where appropriate develop an orthography and later materials in that language. It must be borne in mind that there are still numbers of Aboriginal languages or dialects which have not been analysed to the extent where a practical orthography can be produced.

(c) *Growing Interest in the School by the Community*

While it is difficult to assess precisely the growth of community interest in the school, there is some evidence in some communities of a growing realisation that what is happening in the school is perhaps more relevant to the

community than it has been in the past. The increased visits of story tellers and instructors in art, song, dance, and craft to the school, the willingness to record stories for school use and for these to be transcribed, all point to increased interest and involvement in the school by certain communities.

(d) *Competence in Reading Skills*

There appears to be mounting evidence that children learning to read initially in their own language are acquiring the basic reading skills far more quickly than they have done previously when English was the sole medium of instruction. Most of this evidence is impressionistic and there is no concrete evidence to back up this statement, that is except for the growing number of young six year olds who can read as fluently in their own language as can our own children in English. In one or two instances a few children have also started to read in English. Again, it appears as if they are experiencing less difficulty in reading English. There is a long way to go yet and it will be a number of years and after much research before conclusive statements can be made. However [illegible]ooks promising.

(e) *Growing Awareness of the Relevance of Linguistics and Anthropology by non-Aboriginal Teachers*

The Northern Territory does not have facilities for teacher training. Numbers of teachers are recruited annually from the various States and others who have been awarded Commonwealth Teaching Service scholarships go directly to the Northern Territory from a number of Colleges of Advanced Education notably that in Canberra.

Very few teachers accept appointments in the Northern Territory with more than a superficial knowledge of the Aboriginal people many will be working with. Very few of the Colleges of Advanced Education prepare their students adequately in the fields of linguistics, anthropology and teaching English as a second language. A sound knowledge of the basic principles of linguistics and studies in the field of anthropology should be regarded as essential for any teacher who is to teach in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, and an indepth study of Teaching English as a Second Language is essential if effective teaching in this area is to occur. I have been assured by school principals and newly graduated teachers that their training has not prepared them sufficiently for teaching in Aboriginal communities. A small number of Education Advisers spend virtually the whole year conducting week long courses in T.E.S.L. at schools in Aboriginal communities. The demand for these courses underlines the growing awareness of the importance of T.E.S.L. Numbers of teachers have enrolled in external courses in T.E.S.L. offered by various tertiary institutions and the courses offered by the Darwin Community College on a part-residential and part-external basis have been well attended. For the past three years the Department of Education has sponsored a number of teachers to the Institute of Linguistics Summer School during December/January/February. Applications to attend the ten week courses have always outnumbered the number of places available. The fact that teachers are prepared to attend these courses during their long vacation is certainly an indication of the importance they are now placing on linguistics. Talks on contrastive linguistics given to school

staffs by qualified linguists always appear to be met with considerable interest. A growing number of teachers are attempting to learn Aboriginal languages or, at least, to understand the differences between the Aboriginal language and English. There has also been a growing number of queries from teachers about courses in Aboriginal Studies or anthropology. In short there is no doubt that teachers in Aboriginal schools are becoming more aware of the relevance of linguistics, anthropology and teaching English as a second language to successful teaching in these schools.

Conclusion

Before concluding I would like to quote from "Recommendations Concerning Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory" prepared by two eminent linguists familiar with bilingual education in Northern America and also acknowledged as leaders in the field of Australian linguistics — Professors Geoff O'Grady and Ken Hale, in July 1974:

> "We are extremely impressed with the Northern Territory Bilingual Program — so much so that we are inclined to assert that this program constitutes one of the most exciting educational events in the modern world. It is, of course, just beginning and has a long and difficult road ahead of it."

I don't know about the first sentence, but the second sentence holds true in 1976 just as it did nearly two years ago.

In fact I feel that we will not have bilingual education firmly established and functioning as efficiently as we could like, before 1980. And, indeed, it is unlikely that we will see many of the fruits of our labour before that time either.

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THE SOCIAL EDUCATION MATERIALS PROJECT: A REVIEW

C. J. TONKIN

Introduction: The Curriculum Development Centre

The Curriculum Development Centre became a statutory authority in July 1975. It is a national body whose functions include curriculum analysis, research and evaluation, the development of school curricula, the production, supply and diffusion of educational materials and the collection, assessment and dissemination of information relating to the curriculum.[1]

In performing these functions the Centre works in liaison with the State and Federal Departments of Education, other Government Departments, the Catholic and Independent school systems and a wide range of public and private authorities and agencies.

The Centre is governed by a widely representative Council[2] whose part-time Chairman is Professor Glen Evans of the University of Queensland. The Director of the Centre is Dr. Malcolm Skilbeck, who was appointed in September 1975. Information on the Centre is available through a booklet, *Functions and Mode of Operation of the Curriculum Development Centre*, a pamphlet, *Publications Policy Guidelines*, and, at present, two *Newsletters* (issued respectively in March and November 1975). The Centre's current address is P.O. Box 826 Woden, A.C.T., its offices are on the fourth floor of the MLC Tower Building.

The Centre is currently supporting a number of educational materials projects of which by far the largest is the *Social Education Materials Project*, the subject of this paper.

CDC and SEMP

Before proceeding with an analysis of this Project, I would like to make reference to aspects of CDC policy which help to explain the Project's character.

CDC was established partly because of a need to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas between State curriculum agencies, and to support curriculum projects whose products are likely to be of use to the greatest number of schools across the country. In supporting projects the CDC Council takes cognizance of the trends towards diversification of the curriculum resulting partly from the decentralization of curricular decision-making and the increased autonomy of regional centres, committees within schools and individual teachers.

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[1]See CDC Act, Clause 5 (1).
[2]Ibid., Clause 11 (1).

CDC has a policy of encouraging and supporting curriculum activities at any level in the States, by offering its facilities to enable more effective development to occur through joint operation, coordination and assistance.

Consistent with this, CDC sees itself supporting not merely the professional curriculum developers, those folk who have staffed Curriculum Branches over the years, but also the average teacher. As Senator Guilfoyle, then Opposition spokesman on the CDC Bill said in supporting its philosophy: "It seems to us that the involvement of teachers in the process of development (of new curricula) is likely to be at least as valuable to them as the end product of that process."[3]

The Social Education Materials Project reflects these principles. There are eight teams involved in the Project; seven of them (there are two in Victoria) represent the contribution of State Education Departments and their members are responsible, in the first instance, to their own State authority; the eighth team has been sponsored from within the Independent system, specifically by the Headmasters' Conference of New South Wales. Team members are teachers, seconded from secondary schools, who return to their schools when the Project concludes at the end of 1976.

Background to the Project

The UNESCO Seminar of 1967 on the Teaching of the Social Sciences at the Secondary Level led most States to give attention to the contribution which the newer social sciences might make to the social education of school children, to set up Advisory Committees and to establish materials development projects, such as the Secondary Social Science Project with which I was associated in Victoria. Since 1970 a National Committee on Social Science Teaching — a joint venture of the Commonwealth and the States — has been in existence, to encourage and co-ordinate these activities. Each of the State Project Officers has been a member of the School Needs and Liaison Sub-Committee of the National Committee since 1971.

It was that sub-committee which undertook to review the situation as it existed across the country in 1973; each Project leader examined the progress which had been made in his State in all subjects relevant to social education, in order to identify needs in this curricular area; when collated, these contributions were published by the National Committee.[4]

It was agreed in the *Correlation Survey* that there were eighteen areas of interest common to all States in which materials needed to be developed, either because no materials were available or because available materials failed to reflect the aims and objectives of current courses — for example, they were merely descriptive and failed to provide students with sufficient data from which they could draw their own conclusions, or they failed to deal with the dynamics of interpersonal and intergroup relationships.

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[3]Hansard, 22 May 1975.

[4]National Committee on Social Science Teaching: *Social Science Courses in Australia: A Correlation Survey*. Research Paper No. 2, 6 December 1973.

As a result of this Survey, the Committee decided to explore the avenues open to it for supporting the development of materials in these areas. It was fortunate indeed that the decision to set up a Curriculum Development Centre coincided with this, and that the Interim Council agreed to consider a submission of the Committee.

Accordingly, the State Project Officers were asked to assist the Committee to identify priorities within the areas formerly listed. From the eighteen original areas, eight were selected as being of high priority to at least three States. The SPOs were then requested to prepare the briefs for the development of the materials in these areas. These briefs, accompanied by appropriate statements concerning the rationale of the proposal as a whole, were presented to CDC; the proposal was accepted for funding, and a booklet describing the Project was published in May 1974.[5]

The Development Plan (Part iii of the document) envisaged a six-stage timetable for the Project, the first of which was scheduled for Term 2 and the second for Term 3, 1974. It was during this period that the CDC approached State Departments and the Independent and Catholic systems to confirm their desire to participate in the Project, to decide together upon the area(s) of study for which each would assume responsibility, to arrange for the selection and release of the teachers to be seconded for the 1975 and 1976 school years, and so on. The areas selected and the host authority responsible for each are summarized as follows:

	Areas of Study	*Host Authority*
1.	Government and Decision-making Processes	N.S.W. Department of Education
2.	The Consumer and Society	Q'ld. Department of Education
3.	Race and Ethnic Relations	Vic. Department of Education
4.	Urbanism	Vic. Department of Education
5.	Social Control and Conflict	S.A. Department of Education
6.	Changing Social Relationships	Tas. Department of Education
7.	Community Study	W.A. Department of Education
8.	Family Groupings	Headmasters' Conference of N.S.W.

Each host authority selected three teachers for full-time work with the Project, and some systems were able to agree also to the official release of a number of "cooperating teachers" on a .2 time basis. The first national conference of full-time Project personnel took place in December 1974.

By February 1975, each of the eight teams had been established in its offices, either in a school or in a Curriculum Branch, and had begun work in what was Stage iii of the Project: "the gathering of ideas, the collection of data and the development of materials".[6]

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[5]Curriculum Development Centre: *The Social Education Materials Project*. Proposed by the National Committee on Social Science Teaching in Secondary Schools, May 1974.

[6]Ibid., p. 37.

Thus, well before legislation to establish the CDC was passed, the first, and to date the largest Project of the Centre was well and truly launched.

The Project at Work

It has been the task of each of the teams to develop and to trial materials in its particular area of study and to prepare the prototypes for national trial by CDC; they will assist later in the preparation of the successfully trialled materials for commercial publication. (These activities cover Stages iv, v and vi of the Project.)

How have they gone about this? A relevant section of the Project booklet reads: "Developmental team members will coordinate the ideas submitted by teachers and students on the subjects for which the materials are being designed." And another, "Teacher, student and community involvement is essential in the developmental process".[7] The Project is proving a real success in this respect. Although it took many months to engender it in some places, teams are now enjoying the fullest support and cooperation of other teachers in schools; there has been willingness among many teachers not only to comment upon drafts of units emanating from Project offices, but to actually initiate units and to participate in their development. While community involvement has varied somewhat according to the nature of the topics on which teams have been working — being most marked in areas like Race and Ethnic Relations, Family Groupings and Community — it can generally be said that this Project has secured a degree of cooperation far beyond any with which I have ever been associated here or overseas; the nature of this contribution also suggests that the wider community can be a much more potent resource for curriculum decision-making than is usually acknowledged.

The booklet also says: "It is desirable that developmental teams work in close cooperation with one another."[8] While members of teams, as distinct from team leaders, have had few opportunities to come together in national conference/workshop situations (and this is a matter of some regret), it has been possible to bring members of this or that team together when overlap between their topics has necessitated it. Generally speaking, these occasional workshop sessions, team leaders' meetings and informal contact between teams have all revealed an admirable spirit of interstate cooperation.

There is little doubt that this Project has already meant a great deal to the considerable number of students, parents and members of the wider community, as well as the teachers, who have been involved, and I have no doubt that future national, state, or regional projects based on this cooperative model could expect to enjoy similar success.

A notable feature of the Project relates to the quality and acceptability of the materials being developed. (There are some seventy discrete resource packs/units of work currently being trialled.)

[7] Ibid., pp. 30, 31.
[8] Ibid., p. 30.

I think it would be generally recognised that while no professional curriculum developer deliberately discounts or ignores the potential contribution of the practising teacher, the student, the parent, the community, to the curricular decisions he is called upon to make, his very distance from the classroom situation and the time which has often elapsed since he operated there, combine to constitute a difficulty he can never adequately overcome.

This Project has brought teachers out of their classrooms for a specified, brief time, and they then return to resume their appointments. They are regarded by their colleagues as teachers; they maintain the closest possible links with schools. While their skills are not identical with those of the professional, he is there to make up for any deficiency.

I believe that this Project is proving most successful in this respect, that by friendly persuasion it is bringing together in active and productive dialogue representatives of the whole range of personnel in the educational community, and that the extent and nature of this participation will serve not only to ensure the wide-spread adoption of the published materials but to enhance the quality of the social education being experienced in Australian secondary schools.

Hopefully, SEMP materials (after publication next year) will be adopted not because they are the products of a $1,000,000 national project, but because they are educationally viable. They will have been made so by the participation of a representative cross-section of the total educational community.

The Project's Major Problem

There is no aspect of this Project which has produced more discussion and debate than the nature of the timetable to which teams have been working.

This Project is strictly limited to two calendar years. The teams came together in February 1975, and they cease work in December 1976. In that time, four of the seven specified stages of the Project (Stages iii-vi) were to be completed: the involvement of as many teachers and others as possible, the preparation of a range of materials in each of eight areas of study, the trialling of those materials in the State of origin, the preparation of prototypes resulting from those trials, the conduct of national trials, the final revision of student materials and the preparation of teacher education materials and the conduct of pre-service and in-service education programs.[9]

The written comments of team leaders to me concerning the tightness of this timetable are perhaps worth sharing:

(i) In July last, one spoke of the unrealistic expectations of CDC in respect to the ability of the average teacher in the selected teams to apply himself quickly to the production of new, imaginative and varied materials:

> "When three teachers come in 'cold' to such a program, surely a considerable amount of research and time must be spent on:

[9]Ibid., p. 37.

Innovation strategies;
General educational theory;
Background theory for our topic;
Curriculum design and educational technology."

(ii) Another, in the same vein:

"We are very concerned that future development at the shop-floor level will be built on too slender a research base . . . (we have been forced to act upon) our intuitive suggestions, a number of suggestions from other teachers, and some relevant but ill-thought-out selections of primary material, all coated with a thin and rather implausible veneer of rationalisations from research into how children learn, and rationalisation from very small-scale evaluation efforts."

Others have spoken of the insufficiency of time in relation to the aim of involving as many teachers as possible:

(i) "On the one hand materials are to be produced. On the other, there is to be the widest possible involvement of teachers, students and members of the community in the developmental process. The sorts of relationships necessary for the latter are time-consuming to develop."

(ii) "It is already predictable that the suggested timetable for the Project is unrealistic if the spirit of the Project is to be adhered to."

There are, of course, things to be said in defence of a tight timetable such as this.

The most obvious of these is the financial consideration and the effect of an extension of time on other possible projects. For there are many other worthwhile projects which could be supported and some of these would suffer if the funding authority were to agree to extend the life of this Project.

Another point is that when a number of materials are to be produced in a strictly defined time, teams are obliged to cut their cloth accordingly — to confine themselves to a limited range and to produce only stimulus material for the most part.

These have desirable effects, in my view. To confine the range is to reduce the possibility that teachers who acquire SEMP materials will regard them as constituting a course of study or a program for a given number of terms — and it was never the intention that these materials be regarded as anything else than additions to the resources on which teachers would have the opportunity to draw. To do the second is to avoid what could be regarded as a serious "curriculum trap" — that is, the tendency to aim for completion or perfection in materials, which sometimes results in their becoming too professional in appearance, esoteric in style, unlikely to serve as realistic models of what teachers might do for themselves.

We want these materials to reach the consumer as soon as possible and we want them to be as beneficial to the teacher as they can be. I believe that the timetable of SEMP contributes indirectly to the achievement of both these objectives.

The timetable has proved somewhat unrealistic not only from the point of view of teacher and community involvement but also in respect to materials production. It is, of course, one thing for ideas to be put on paper by team members or other teachers; it is quite another for State media centres to produce the trial materials within a defined time. Some States are better equipped than others to actually do the job themselves — as distinct from having it done by outside firms — but even they have been running behind the schedule suggested in the Project booklet.

While, therefore, the finishing date of the Project is being adhered to, the details of the timetable have been adjusted to accommodate this sort of problem. The National Assessment of materials, for instance, originally scheduled for Term 1 this year, will occur largely in Term 2 (largely, because it is as and when materials have been developed at the State level that they are being applied elsewhere, and for a proportion of the materials that indeed meant Term 1).

This serves to illustrate the point that the whole operation, in fact, has become more flexible than suggested in the Development Plan, and I believe has been all to the good. Were CDC to have insisted upon a rigid adherence to the Stages as laid down, the generation of materials would have ceased around the middle of 1975 to allow time for production and trial before the end of that year. At that stage, teacher and community involvement was slight by comparison with what it is now, and the teams themselves were less confident and less competent than they feel now. Loosening up the timetable has allowed these things to develop and I have no doubt that the quality of the materials being produced has been enhanced as a result. They are also being developed much more speedily now than they were six months ago.

Dissemination

Although at the time of writing the Project still has some months to run plans are already well advanced for Dissemination in 1977-78.

In a sense, Dissemination has been proceeding throughout the developmental process and will continue throughout the remaining months of 1976. As I have already said, many hundreds of people would now be aware of the Project's work through their involvement with it in the developmental stages. As materials go forward to National Assessment, teachers receive not only the few sets they will personally assess but a summary of the items the Project has produced — we are asking that this be shared with their colleagues. In September, the journal *Study of Society*, to be distributed nationally, will contain a sizeable supplement on the work of the Project. Before and after that time there will be further television, radio and newspaper coverage. In addition the publishers themselves will be mounting their own publicity campaigns.

The Dissemination program for 1977-78 is expected to be a further illustration of the cooperation between CDC and the States which has occurred up to this time. The CDC aims to coordinate an In-Service Education program which will depend heavily upon those authorities in the States who

control the funds for this purpose — for example the State In-Service Education Committees — and upon the participation of teacher educators, regional consultants, and advisers in the States, as well as upon many of the "cooperating teachers" who have assisted the Project in the months past (as they will in the National Assessment exercise in Term 2) along with community leaders, publishers' representatives, the ABC and Film Australia.

National, State and local Conferences are envisaged. The purpose, of course, is not merely to introduce administrators and teachers to these materials (so that they might be used as effectively as possible within the curriculum) but also to the processes which lie behind them — so that more and more teachers will be equipped to use these materials as models of what they might do themselves, and motivated to become their own curriculum makers.

In conclusion, I would want to say that this Project is proving a most worthwhile learning experience for all who are involved in it. I have little doubt that it is enhancing the professional growth of teachers and developing their confidence as decision-makers in curriculum matters. I have no doubt that it is illustrating just how valuable it is to encourage all members of the educational community to participate in decisions concerning the education of today's young people.

In respect to the materials themselves I believe that they will prove viable in social education programs for some time to come; that, as CDC requested, they will prove flexible enough to be of use in a number of social subjects and in humanities courses in general, varied enough to cater for a range of interests, and provocative enough to stimulate teachers to develop similar materials of their own on related issues.

DIRECTIONS IN ADVANCED EDUCATION — INDICATORS AND INFLUENCES

(With Special Reference to Administrative Structures and Relationships)

H. S. WILLIAMS

Introduction

This paper is a first report of a study being undertaken by a group of members of the Western Australian Chapter.[1] The study originated because of the several concerns being expressed about such matters as the present condition of advanced education, changing Commonwealth/State relationships, and the adequacy of planning for future developments. In the course of the total study it is expected that many facets will be examined, for example, the philosophy underlying the rapid expansion of advanced education, the nature of the institutions, governing relationships and structures, educational policies and practices (including admissions, student progress, course planning and teaching/learning patterns), and students and staffing.

This paper, however, concentrates on a preliminary examination of selected aspects of governing structures and relationships with particular reference to Commonwealth/State relationships, co-ordination within the State of Western Australia and the impact of these particularly on one institution — the Western Australian Institute of Technology. Readers will have to judge for themselves how far the experience recorded here can be generalized.

The Study Methodology

The first approach has been to make against a set of topics, an analysis of documentary material which included the Martin Report, the triennium reports of the Commission on Advanced Education and its predecessors, and the minutes of the Western Australian Tertiary Education Commission. Discussions have also been held with relevant officers of the Institute and some examination made of minutes of internal bodies concerning the areas of administrative relationships of the Institute with the State and Federal bodies, particularly as demonstrated in the management of recurrent budgets and in capital works and course development. From these inquiries, trends in major areas have been established together with some factors influencing those developments. This has led to a statement of the present situation.

From this point the study becomes more speculative and critical. An attempt has been made to outline possible future developments and the consequences thereof. The authors do this in the belief that advanced education is at the crossroads, and that by setting out some principles and criteria, a critique of the present situation and of likely trends can be undertaken. The ensuing discussion and further investigations may have some influence on the future.

As has been stated already, the major thrust of this paper is with the selective topic of governing structures and relationships. Before turning to this topic in detail however, it is considered necessary to outline as background information the present situation in advanced education and factors

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[1]The group comprises Dr. S. N. Hunter, Mr. E. H. Jones, Dr. T. Kennedy, Dr. W. D. Neal, Dr. J. G. Williams and the writer.

leading to it. Because of space limitations this can be done only by a series of somewhat dogmatic statements without detailing research evidence for them.

The Commonwealth Government Presence in Higher Education

Education in Australia has traditionally been a State responsibility. During and after the 1939-45 War substantial programmes of training and education for war-time and post-war reconstruction purposes were carried out by the State technical education systems and the universities on behalf of the Commonwealth Government which provided the financial resources. In 1956 the Commonwealth Government appointed a committee of inquiry now known as the Murray Committee to recommend to the Commonwealth what future responsibilities it should undertake with respect to university education. The Commonwealth Government accepted the recommendation that it should share the financing of universities with the State Governments and established the Australian Universities Commission to provide continuing advice as to the general nature of the developments which should be encouraged in the universities and the level of financial support which should be provided by the Commonwealth Government.

In 1961 a committee, now known as the Martin Committee, was appointed to report to the Australian Universities Commission on the future development of tertiary education in Australia. The report of the Martin Committee, submitted in 1964, recommended concentration on the development of tertiary education outside the universities in what subsequently became known as colleges of advanced education. In the first instance, these were based mainly on existing technical institutions which were becoming increasingly involved in higher education. The Martin Committee recommended interim grants to a number of these colleges for the period 1965-66 to be followed by inclusion of the Colleges in a triennial grants system already operating for the universities. The Martin Report also recommended that similar treatment be accorded the teachers' colleges, but this proposal was not accepted by the Commonwealth Government. The teachers' colleges were subsequently incorporated in the system of advanced education in 1972 thus completing the Commonwealth's financial involvement in the whole of tertiary education.

For the period from 1965-1973 finance by the Commonwealth Government was provided on a matching basis with finance from State sources on a ratio of 1 : 1 for capital moneys and 1 : 1.85 on recurrent finance. The 1.85 included student fees. As from 1974 the Australian Government accepted full responsibility for the costs of tertiary education, abolished the payment of fees, and replaced scholarship programmes with a means tested assistance scheme. The result of all these various moves, together with inflation, has meant that the Commonwealth financial involvement in advanced education, recently including the teachers' colleges, has increased from some $42m in 1967-69 to over $750m in 1973-75. Almost $1,700m at December 1974 cost levels was projected by the report of the Commission on Advanced Education for the 1976-78 triennium. Reference will be made later to the suspension of the triennial system for 1976 and the finance provided for this year.

In conjunction with the provision of financial support, the Commonwealth Government in 1965 appointed a Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education subsequently known as the Wark Committee. This Committee advised the Commonwealth Government of the appropriate level of support for the Colleges of Advanced Education. However, unlike the university sector, the administration of the Commonwealth grants for advanced education was carried out by the Department of Education and Science. In 1971 the Advisory Committee was replaced by the Australian Commission on Advanced Education which then took on the responsibilities of administration of the grants, as well as providing advice to the Government. It was required by Act to co-ordinate its activities with those of the Universities Commission.

In 1975 the Australian Government proposed an Act to establish an Australian Tertiary Education Commission which would have responsibilities covering universities and colleges of advanced education. The proposed legislation also provided for the Tertiary Education Commission to collaborate and co-ordinate its activities with those of the Australian Commission on Technical and Further Education. This has recently been set up to recommend and administer Commonwealth Government programmes of support for technical and further education for which the greater part of the finances however will continue to come, at least for the present, from State sources.

The change in the Federal Government which took place late in 1975 has cast some question over the future of this legislation and indeed over the whole nature of the future Commonwealth/State relationships. Changes in this regard could have substantial implications for the financing and the administration of support for advanced education and indeed for education as a whole.

Major Concepts Associated with the Development of Advanced Education

Analysis of relevant reports and of statements by the Prime Minister and Ministers for Education in the period 1964-72 shows that Federal Government action to develop colleges of advanced education was motivated by three main concerns:

(a) that individuals have a right to the highest level of education within their capacity;

(b) that a highly educated nation is a better nation;

(c) that industry needs a well-educated workforce.

These three sets of value assumptions were translated into six operational targets for official policy and financial support:

(a) higher education was to be diversified in types of courses, institutions and persons admitted as students;

(b) the additional resources needed to expand higher education during the next decade were to be directed more particularly towards the colleges rather than the universities;

(c) the colleges were to retain and emphasize the vocational character of the technical colleges from which many of them had developed;

(d) at the same time liberal education (not clearly defined) was also to be a strong element in the colleges;

(e) the colleges were to concentrate on the teaching function and on doing this well, leaving the research function to the universities;

(f) the colleges were to be controlled by autonomous governing bodies.

In the original concept of colleges of advanced education teacher education was specifically excluded. It was also made clear that the Commonwealth would fund courses leading to diplomas but not degrees. However, quite early in the life of the colleges, in June 1968, the Wiltshire Committee was appointed by the Federal Government to inquire into advanced education awards. This Committee recommended that "certain" college courses should lead to a bachelor's degree and also that limited provision should be made for post-graduate diplomas and master's degrees. Though the Committee envisaged that diploma courses would continue to be the bulk of the work in the colleges, in fact after 1969 colleges rapidly developed bachelor's courses which now constitute a very substantial part of their work particularly in the larger and more diversified colleges. Post-graduate studies, including master's degrees, are also expanding steadily in advanced education.

Also in June 1968, the Sweeney Committee was appointed by the Commonwealth Government to inquire into academic salaries in colleges of advanced education. This Committee described qualities to be required of lecturers and senior lecturers in the colleges and recommended that the Commonwealth should provide support for salaries equivalent to those of university lecturers and senior lecturers for those members of the staff who met the standards defined by the Committee.

The acceptance by government of the major recommendations of the Wiltshire and Sweeney Reports has had a significant effect not only on the nature and quality of courses and staff in colleges of advanced education but also on the standing and recognition of the colleges and on the morale and self-esteem of their staff.

In 1972 the Commonwealth Government, following an earlier decision to support teacher education courses in colleges of advanced education, decided also to provide financial support to teachers' colleges as part of the advanced education sector, subject to them becoming self-governing institutions under State co-ordinating bodies. This accelerated a movement towards self-government for these colleges, a movement which had already begun in the States. The teachers' colleges have now become a significant part of advanced education, and some are beginning to diversify to a limited degree.

Progress in Advanced Education

In Western Australia, the evidence is mainly to be found in the growth and development of the Western Australian Institute of Technology, now incorporating the W.A. School of Mines and the Muresk Agricultural College, as well as the previous Schools of Occupational Therapy and Physiotherapy, Kindergarten Teachers' College, and Western Australian Branch of the

College of Nursing, Australia. All of these were small and not considered educationally or economically viable as separate tertiary institutions. During the decade two primary teachers' colleges, Mt. Lawley and Churchlands, and the Secondary Teachers' College have been added to the two previously existing colleges at Claremont and Graylands, and all have moved from the control of the Education Department to government by an autonomous council. Clearly there has been a diversification of the types of institutions now fully accepted at the tertiary level.

Diversification of courses at the tertiary level has largely rested with the Institute, since some limited diversification of courses offered by the teachers' colleges has only begun quite recently.

On its formation from the Perth Technical College the Institute began with 30 associateship courses, 3 diploma courses and 3 post-graduate diploma courses. It now has either accredited or is in process of accrediting 40 bachelor's degree courses, 5 diploma courses, 9 associate diploma courses, 15 post-graduate diploma courses and 3 master's degree courses. With a few exceptions the courses conducted are in fields of study which were already being taught to some extent in the Perth Technical College or in one of the small schools now incorporated in the Institute. However in a number of these fields there has been substantial development in the range and level of teaching. Some courses are in fields unique to the Institute. Other courses though being in similar fields to those offered in the universities, reflect a different approach to the studies. All have become more clearly acceptable alternatives for students as compared with the courses conducted by the universities thus widening the range of effective choices for students seeking appropriate studies even where they do not extend the variety of fields.

Numbers of students in tertiary education in Western Australia have increased quite dramatically from just under 7,000 in 1965 to 24,500 in 1975 and this has been predominantly in the advanced education sector. From 1971 to 1975 alone the proportion of undergraduate students in this sector has risen from 36.7% to 43.5%. From 1967 to 1975 average annual increase in student numbers in the Institute has been 16%, in the teachers' colleges 13% and in the universities 7%.

With regard to the range of students the participation rate for undergraduate students in relation to the 17-22 year age group has risen from 8.6% in 1965 to 20.7% in 1975. From 1971 to 1975 the rate in the university sector has gone from 6.8% to 7.9% whilst in the advanced education sector the increase has been from 6.2% to 12.8%, this latter figure being the highest in any State and half as much again as the figure for Australia as a whole.

The proportions of part-time students are much the same in 1975 as they were in 1967 being around 37% in the University of W.A. and 56% at the Institute. Between 1969 and 1975 female enrolments have moved from 29% to 35% at the University of W.A., and from 20% to 31% at the Institute. Between 1969 and 1975 external enrolments have gone from 5% to 13% at the Institute whilst they have remained constant at 10% in the University of W.A. Post-graduate enrolments have also remained constant around 10% at the University of W.A. whilst at the Institute they have risen

from about .5% in 1967 to 9% in 1975. Students over 22 have increased from 35% to 42% of enrolments at the University of W.A. from 1969 to 1975 whilst over the same period the figures for the Institute have been 41% and 47%. The comparable figures for students aged 29 and over are 15% and 20% for the University, and for the Institute 20% and 24%.

Summing up whilst the proportion of part-time students in the University of W.A. and the Institute have remained much the same, which is quite significant in view of the increasing financial support for full-time students, opportunities for women and older students, and for external and post-graduate studies have clearly been expanded in most instances more particularly through the Institute.

All the evidence so far as this State is concerned indicates substantial progress up to 1975, toward the objectives of numbers, diversity and opportunity set by the Martin Committee. The qualitative objectives for the colleges namely retention of the vocational emphasis, increasing liberal education, and strength in teaching cannot be readily quantified or succinctly dealt with in the brief space of this paper, though we would believe there is clear evidence that these have been taken into account in the development of the Institute.

In 1976 there has been a marked change in the attitudes towards the further development of tertiary education. The year is being treated as a "stand alone" rather than a triennium year, both students and finance are being much more closely contained by Commonwealth decisions and there is a ban on all new developments. The Institute which has substantially consolidated its basic courses was ready to take further significant steps in the area of post-graduate diplomas which are in demand from those in employment seeking to consolidate, extend, or diversify their qualifications to meet new requirements. In the present circumstances this is no longer possible. Trends towards some support for other forms of continuing education and community involvement seem to have been reversed with much more rigid requirements for the use of both recurrent moneys and special funds on approved courses only. The whole emphasis now appears to be on the minimum maintenance of the position achieved and further thrusts towards the goals of the Martin Report are being severely restricted.

Commonwealth and State Authorities and Administrative Structures

The Commission on Advanced Education

The body set up to make recommendations to the Commonwealth Government concerning advanced education has varied little in nature despite its changes in title and the elevation of its status from an advisory committee to a commission. Its two successive Chairmen until October 1975 were drawn from scientific research and industry respectively. A Deputy Chairman, drawn from one of the colleges, was appointed in 1973 and he has been appointed Chairman at least pending the decision on the proposed legislation. Initially there were seven part-time members. For a period following the incorporation of teacher education in the advanced education sector there were eight, but currently there are again seven. Initially these were distributed four from industry and business, two from the universities, and one from advanced

education. At present there are three from business and industry, two from the universities and two from advanced education which together with the previous Deputy Chairman who is now Chairman, means a significantly increased involvement from persons experienced within advanced education.

The terms of reference of the body under its various titles have changed to some extent. The original terms of reference were solely concerned with financial advice. When the Australian Commission on Advanced Education was formed in December 1973 the following clause was included in these terms: "the Commission shall perform its function with a view to promoting the balanced development of the provision of advanced education in Australia so that the resources of the institutions providing advanced education can be used to the greatest possible advantage of Australia". The terms of reference also wrote in a requirement for the Commission to consult with institutions, with the Universities Commission and with the States, and gave it power to consult with such other persons, bodies or authorities as it thought proper. It was further charged with the task of furnishing such reports as the Minister might require and was given also the power to furnish other reports if it saw fit. The terms no longer excluded teacher education as they had specifically in the initial terms of reference of the Advisory Committee which had preceded the Commission.

Perhaps the most significant of these changes from the point of view of the operation of advanced education was the requirement for consultation with the Australian Universities Commission. There has been increasing adoption by the Commission on Advanced Education of practices developed by the Universities Commission.

Over the years there has been a substantial change in the attitudes and approach of the Commission, and of the attitudes of the Australian Government as reflected through the Commission and through budget decisions. Initially as the Commonwealth Advisory Committee the body acted in a stimulative fashion, pressing the State Governments to increase their commitment to advanced education and thus gain more of the benefits of Commonwealth matching funding. Colleges were encouraged to think expansively. Associated with this was a reluctance by the Commission to become too involved with detailed considerations on the grounds that the programme had been initiated by the Commonwealth in the context of assisting the States to carry out the programmes which they wished to achieve. Reliance was placed on the view that since substantial State money was involved, the States would ensure that the resources available were effectively and efficiently used.

The rapidly increasing scale of resource demands, the impact of full Commonwealth funding and its effect on the role of the States, changing attitudes towards tertiary education, a diminishing conviction concerning the assumed benefits of higher education, pressure for resources for other areas of education and other social needs, and growing information concerning current costs and future student demands have all helped to change this situation. It would appear the Commission now sees itself as having a major responsibility to control both developments and costs and hence to exercise far greater administrative supervision of the operation of the advanced education programme.

Most developments in any field are the outcome of pressures from a number of sources so that it is difficult to say that the major stimulus has come from any one particular area. However, a number of areas can be identified in which the Commission and the previous Committee have given a considerable stimulus to developments, in some cases not only in principle but also by the recommendation of grants unmatched by the States. These include libraries, research and investigation in educational issues related to the colleges, planning of buildings, student services and facilities, staff development, and the inclusion of teacher education in advanced education. In other areas it has taken some action or clarified its position in response to pressures from within advanced education, such as in the recommendations for the appointment of the Inquiry into Salaries of Lecturers and Senior Lecturers in Colleges of Advanced Education (Sweeney Report), the Committee of Inquiry into Awards in Colleges of Advanced Education (Wiltshire Report), and in the spelling out of its attitudes towards research in colleges of advanced education. More recently the Commission has initiated significant restraints on such issues as the length of pre-service courses, the development of post-graduate courses, and resources for the provision of residential, sporting and parking facilities.

Specific trends in administration, to some of which reference has been made, already have been the increasing adoption of practices and policies of the Universities Commission, closer supervision of developments and expenditure, more insistence on working through State bodies rather than direct with colleges, and greater emphasis on the fact that funding is provided on the basis of approved courses only.

The Commission and the advanced education system in general are being placed under pressure also by Treasury requirements and practices such as those with respect to the use of special funds, and the scheduling of advances of both capital and recurrent moneys.

The Australian Council on Awards in Advanced Education

This national body was set up following the Wiltshire Inquiry into Awards in Colleges of Advanced Education. The Commonwealth's role was as an initiator in supporting the original inquiry and in spearheading the negotiations for the setting up of the Council. Its membership of the Council is on the same basis as that of any of the States and is in relationship to its responsibility for the Canberra College of Advanced Education.

The primary purposes of the Council are to seek to promote consistency in the nomenclature used for awards in advanced education, to assist in the development of meaningful relationships between courses and their associated awards, to promote wider understanding and appreciation of advanced education and to promote public awareness and acceptance of awards in advanced education, particularly degree awards. Throughout its terms of reference, there is constant emphasis on consultation and communication. Its only real power over titles for awards is through the form of the register of awards which it publishes and the nomenclatures which it is prepared to use in the structuring of this register. It has set down criteria for the various levels

of awards. In this respect it is primarily concerned with satisfying itself that the procedures adopted by the accrediting authorities in the States and the A.C.T. are in its view adequate to ensure observance of these criteria.

When one considers the considerable variety which existed in the nomenclature and standards of courses in advanced education throughout the country prior to the establishment of the Council, it has achieved a great deal in terms of its objectives and of consistency. This has largely come about by moral suasion and by the actions of accrediting and award granting authorities based on consensus reached in the Council which consists of two members from each State and the A.C.T. nominated by the respective Ministers for Education. It includes at least one member of each accrediting authority and has a Chairman who is additional to the nominated members.

The Western Australian Tertiary Education Commission

Western Australia has been unique in having one body responsible for the co-ordination of all tertiary education, a precedent which has now been followed by New South Wales and is projected at the Commonwealth level. The formation of the Commission was recommended by the Jackson Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in W.A. which reported in 1967. The Commission consists of a Chairman and nine members all of whom are part-time. Four of these are the chief executive officers of the four tertiary institutions, including as one institution the Western Australian Teacher Education Authority, which consists of the five teachers' colleges previously conducted by the Education Department, together with the Council which governs them. The other three institutions are the University of Western Australia, Murdoch University and the Western Australian Institute of Technology. Other ex officio members of the Commission are the Director-General of Education and the Under-Treasurer of the State or his nominee. The remaining three members are appointed by the Minister.

The Commission commenced as an advisory body in 1969 at which time there were only two tertiary institutions, namely the University of Western Australia and the Western Australian Institute of Technology. Its duties were laid down very broadly as those of planning and co-ordination. Conversion to a statutory body occurred in 1971 and the responsibilities of the body were defined in rather more detail including recommending on terms and conditions of appointment of staff and on fees to be charged to students, as well as co-ordinating the criteria for entrance to tertiary institutions to avoid multiple examinations, and accrediting academic awards.

A number of factors seem to have led to more participative procedures by the Commission than may be common among boards of advanced education or similar bodies in other States. These factors have included firstly the concern of the Commission with universities as well as colleges, secondly the scale and sophistication of the Institute of Technology, thirdly the progressive incorporation into the Institute of several potentially small colleges, and fourthly membership of the Commission by the heads of institutions. Not only have such collaborative activities as the tertiary admissions examination scheme, consistency of recommended salary classifications for non-academic

staff, co-ordination of teacher education programmes and co-operation within certain other fields of study been achieved through the formal structure of the Commission, but it has also provided the context for other collaborative arrangements made directly between the institutions. These include common use of libraries by tertiary students, a common animal breeding centre, proposals for a comprehensive computer network, and an agreement to have in any country centre only one outlet for tertiary education through which all institutions will make available their relevant services. The Commission has also resolved some conflicts of interests between universities and colleges with respect to new fields of development.

Nevertheless it would be true to say that the Commission has been much more executively concerned with colleges than with the universities through the process of accreditation, and through the requirements of the Commission on Advanced Education which, as previously stated, has increasingly directed its communications through the State co-ordinating body. Considerable attention over quite a period of time was also given to the problems of the teachers' colleges, including the process of their separation from the Education Department and incorporation in the Western Australian Teacher Education Authority.

Late in 1974 the Commission recommended to the government that it should appoint a committee to make a study of post-secondary education in the State. The term "post-secondary" was chosen advisedly in order to include technical and further education. The Committee known as the Partridge Committee after its Chairman Professor P. H. Partridge, has now reported and has recommended that the Tertiary Commission be replaced by a Post-Secondary Education Commission of which the heads of institutions would no longer be members. There would however be members knowledgeable in the respective fields of university education, advanced education, teacher education, and technical and further education, in addition to persons appointed as representative of community interests. The Committee has also made a number of significant proposals for restructuring post-secondary education in this State, including the separation of the Technical Education Division from the Education Department and the formation of a Technical and Further Education Authority. The government has announced its intention to proceed as quickly as possible with the setting up of the Commission which will then be asked to examine and recommend on the other various proposals of the Committee. Should this commission be successfully established then Western Australia would again be in the position of having a Commission with more comprehensive coverage of education beyond the school level than applies in other States, though one should of course note the steps in South Australia and in New South Wales towards more co-ordinated policy making over the whole of the educational spectrum.

The State Minister for Education

The Minister is concerned directly in any State legislation relating to tertiary education. Clearly he has a most significant role when any restructuring is proposed such as is the case now following the Partridge Report. He was very much involved in the separation of the teachers' colleges from

the Education Department and the formation of the Teacher Education Authority. He also makes recommendations for appropriate persons to fill vacancies on the governing bodies of tertiary institutions in those positions which are the subject of nomination by the Governor.

So far as the Institute is concerned he was previously responsible for approving salaries and conditions of service for all staff. Now this applies only to the salary of the Director. Other academic salary levels are in effect substantially determined at Commonwealth level, and non-academic salaries in all tertiary institutions in the State are determined by the governing bodies of the institutions following recommendations from the Tertiary Education Commission. The Institute is also required to submit to the Minister its annual budget and annual report.

The Public Service Board

In earlier years the Minister accepted that approval given by the Public Service Board to salaries for non-academic positions could be taken as his approval. Now the Public Service Board provides one member of the non-academic staffing committee on the Tertiary Education Commission. It therefore has a voice at a very general level in the formation of policy on non-academic salary structures but no direct control of these or of the classification of individual positions.

Within the Institute

The Institute has quite an elaborate committee structure commencing with subject committees, moving through boards of study for each course or group of courses, school boards which are concerned with both academic and executive matters, the Academic Board which is concerned with the development of major academic policies, and the Planning and Resources Board which is concerned with the broad management and operation of the Institute. Both the Academic Board and the Planning and Resources Board have a number of significant committees including the Courses Committee, and building planning committees which are formed for each major building project.

Administrative Relationships

General

This section describes the relationships between the various levels of administrative structure in terms of the dynamics of the actual decision-making process. The description of statutory powers and responsibilities in structural terms so far given sets the framework within which the style of implementation can vary considerably. These variations can have serious effects, sometimes unanticipated, on the institutions themselves. Furthermore changes occur over a period of time as organizations gain more knowledge and a greater sense of power, or as individuals imprint their particular styles of operation. An attempt has been made to identify major trends in administrative relationships over recent years since the establishment of a Commonwealth body concerned with the colleges. With respect to Western Australia

it should be noted that the Tertiary Education Commission has been in operation only over the past seven years for five of which it has been a statutory body. The statements that are made describing trends will be illustrated by using three major spheres of activity, namely recurrent budgeting, course development and capital programmes.

The general observations that emerge from the study are as follows:

1. There has been a gradual shift of decision-making power to Canberra. No doubt this is an inevitable trend in organizations of the kind under examination unless conscious efforts are made to combat it. The Commission on Advanced Education starting from a position of knowing very little about the whole operation has gradually increased its knowledge and power. For example though at first it knew very little about systems management it has nevertheless now established considerable requirements for data collection and has increased the number of decision-making points in the administrative process.

   The increase in centralization has been assisted by at least two factors. One is the expected consequence of the growth in power and knowledge of permanent staff of the Commission. The other is the quite remarkable fluctuations in the level and character of financing. Prior to 1974 the joint Commonwealth/State operation existed and face-to-face interaction by the colleges with the relevant State Government was possible. Furthermore the level of Commonwealth funding was dictated substantially by the extent to which the State was prepared to participate. In 1974 complete Commonwealth funding was introduced and inevitably a shift of power has occurred. In addition to a direct gain of power function, the effect was made worse by the difficulty of conferring with officials who are remote, both geographically and in terms of bureaucratic structure, and who are sometimes unable or unwilling to make available in any precise terms the basis of the decisions reached or the calculations made. This clearly restricts the capacity of the colleges to carry out forward planning.

   Suddenly imposed budget cut-backs for the current year again have increased the opportunities for greater centralization of power and this indeed has taken place. Some illustrations of the effect of the greater exercise of power from a centralized position in Canberra are seen in such things as the inability of the Commission on Advanced Education to cope with the diversity of institutions within its jurisdiction and the obvious lack of awareness by the Commission of the effects of some of its decisions on them individually.

   In addition, the decision-making of the Commission has on occasions been geared to the level of expertise in management of the smallest and most inexperienced colleges, imposing unnecessary and undesirable rigidities on more experienced colleges with more sophisticated management capacity. Further evidence of the limitations of the Commission in dealing with the diversity of colleges is available from such practices as the move towards formula budgeting, the tendency to retreat to some

degree to longer and more formal channels of communication instead of the direct contact with the institutions which previously operated to a greater extent, an increase in the number and extent of information collecting devices, and the lack of flexibility in trying to cater for unexpected but important developments requiring financing outside of the triennial budgeting allocations. There is also a growing feeling that rather than concentrating on pressing the case for the colleges with government, the Commission is too much concerned with trying to judge what will be acceptable at the political level.

2. The second feature is that the Tertiary Education Commission in Western Australia has remained a relatively weak body in actual decision-making power. If anything it has lost power in recent years with the exercise of greater control by the Commonwealth Government. It is true that the Tertiary Education Commission has had a degree of influence and has effected some co-operation and co-ordination, which in some areas such as teacher education, computing and tertiary admissions examinations, has been more effective than in others. Nevertheless its main role has been that of a filter and even here its effectiveness is significantly eroded by the fact that the university sector is largely exempt in practice from any local direction.

   As a corollary to this development it should be noted that the State Government, although retaining statutory responsibility for institutions, plays very little role in the decision-making process and has been effectively eliminated in most respects by the action of the Commonwealth Government.

3. The initiative for innovation and development has remained largely with the individual institutions, at least up to the last few years. In as far as this was based on knowledge and expertise, preservation of power at the local level was assisted. Despite the trends so far described in the shift of power, it is still true and only fair to say that the stated intention of the Commissions and in many cases the practice, have been to leave as much autonomy within institutions as possible. Putting this another way it can be claimed and documented that many major innovations have emerged from the institutions. The Tertiary Education Commission have reacted in the main to institutional proposals. Nevertheless it would appear that in recent years the greater rigidity of decision-making procedures and the greater power centralized in Canberra are making it increasingly difficult for institutions to find room to move and to propose innovations which ha[illegible] possibility of being accepted and implemented.

   It should be pointed out, however, that the expertise of institutions has been developed during a period of time in which a major feature has been that of continued growth. It is doubtful whether at the present time the institutions have faced up to the problem of decision-making in a standstill or even decreasing budgetary situation. Unless they do this fairly rapidly, they stand in danger of losing even more of the power over their own destinies. This point is elaborated later in the paper.

The Recurrent Budget

The development in procedures to handle recurrent budgeting gives an illustration of the kind of trends outlined above. The first triennium of 1967-69 involving the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education was produced with very little in the way of guidelines available from the Commission. The major focus of decision-making involved representatives of the State Government working directly with the Institute and the Commission resulting in the State indicating the limits of finance it was prepared to provide. This in turn dictated the extent of Commonwealth Government support. Factors such as programmes of study and enrolment in various courses were decided by the Institute itself. The Commission proceeded on an *ad hoc* basis with no real attempt to apply a management systems approach. It was further possible in the implementation of the triennium to vary from the original submission and for the institution to exercise a considerable degree of flexibility.

The mid-point of the period under discussion is represented by the 1970-72 triennium budget by which time the Advisory Committee had started to require a great deal more information and had set up procedures requiring broad brush propositions prior to the actual detailed preparation of a submission. Again the major decision-making role was played by the State Government in terms of a decision on the total amount of money it was prepared to make available and on which the Commonwealth matching grant was based. The Tertiary Education Commission, although then established, only played a limited role and the Advisory Committee lacked sophistication to understand what was happening to institutions or to introduce any degree of monitoring the effectiveness of the budgeting process. Some flexibility still remained for variation of year-by-year proposals in comparison with the original submission.

The preparation of the submission for 1976-78 took place under very changed circumstances. By then the Commission on Advanced Education which now also administered the programme as well as making recommendations to the Commonwealth Government had introduced a multiplicity of forms covering a much wider range of information items. By then too the advent of complete Commonwealth funding had eliminated the State Government from the process. Despite a generous funding approach at the beginning of total Commonwealth involvement it was soon apparent that discussions and negotiations would be increasingly marked by budgetary restrictions. It is interesting to note also that the Commission increasingly moved towards co-ordination with the Australian Universities Commission and to adopt such things as definitions and data bases in use by that body. The move towards, for example, formula budgeting became apparent as indeed also did the device of refusing to talk directly to the Institute and referring communication through the formal channels, that is through the Tertiary Education Commission. In summary the Commission on Advanced Education had become both more authoritative and more authoritarian.

Capital Works

With regard to the three main trends outlined earlier, the area of capital works provides an interesting example with possibly the most relevant trend being that of institutional initiatives for innovation and development.

Despite the significant shifts and increasing restrictions by the Commission on Advanced Education in capital budgeting and in priorities between buildings, the Institute has maintained, at an operational level, its previous capacity for innovation in the preparation and implementation of its capital works projects.

This ability to maintain relatively high degrees of autonomy is largely related to the fact that expertise in planning projects remains almost exclusively at the institutional level, through a number of committees and sub-committees with members who are well versed in the relevant issues, and in the Institute Architect's Office, staffed with people expert in the types of knowledge required. This level of expertise is not duplicated elsewhere, either at State or Federal level. While the Western Australian Government was involved with the philosophy of the Institute's building programme prior to 1974, it did not attempt to assess the finer detail of such programmes. Similarly, the committee structure at the Federal level cannot hope to match the range of expertise obtained at the institutional level, although the level of competence should rise with the amalgamation of the Universities and Advanced Education Commissions if this occurs.

The implications of these statements for the other trends concerning increasing centralization of authority in Canberra, and the relative ineffectiveness of the Tertiary Education Commission are quite clear. In the area of capital works, increasing centralization in Canberra has been less pronounced than in other areas such as academic programme development. At the State level, the Tertiary Education Commission has had little or no influence on the development of the Institute's capital works programme. In essence, the pattern of capital works development from the early planning stages to project approval and implementation has remained largely unchanged in recent years although considerable constraints and direction from the Commission on Advanced Education have latterly had their impact on the shape and financing of the overall programme.

Academic Programmes

The general trends of increased centralization of power in Canberra, the relatively low level of influence of the Tertiary Education Commission, and the existence of higher levels of innovation within the institutions themselves (at least until recently), are also exemplified by a brief examination of the history of course development and approval procedures within the Institute.

In the early stages of the first triennium (1967-69), programme development and course approval within the Institute revolved largely around the expertise and initiative of individuals and groups within teaching departments ultimately responsible to the Interim Council. In order to meet the demands of a rapidly evolving institution, programme proposals were not required to pass through several screening committees. In actual fact, the internal committee structure had not yet developed to the point where this would have been possible. Following Council approval it was necessary to gain the approval of the Commonwealth Advisory Committee but this action tended to be a "rubber-stamping" operation. In comparison with the present, Federal involvement tended to be minimal and was based on limited expertise in matters

related to course approvals. It is significant to note that at this early stage (1967-68) the Western Australian Tertiary Education Commission had not been formed and there was no State body.

However, as the Institute gained experience in course development, it was recognized that for the purposes of greater efficiency there was a need for more standardization of data and use of common material. This occurred throughout the remainder of the 1967-69 triennium, in conjunction with the development of more streamlined, yet more exhaustive, internal procedures for progression of the submission toward ultimate Institute approval. In a very general sense, while the final decision-making power was centralized in Canberra through the Commonwealth Advisory Committee, the Institute was gradually decentralizing its programme development structures in the sense of involving a wider range of staff and students in submission preparation. Internal efforts to decentralize the system were illustrated by the recognition that proposals must be subjected to more critical internal screening for feasibility and cost analysis, a process indicating a growing awareness of competition for resources within the institution.

Not all refinements of the system, however, were internal ones. The creation in 1968 of the Tertiary Education Commission as an advisory body to tertiary institutions in Western Australia was illustrative of the gradual development of external involvement in the course development and approval system.

The second triennium (1970-72) might best be described as a "transition" period in the development and approval of new courses within the Institute, no doubt considerably influenced by the introduction of degrees. The Institute itself substantially formalized its procedures with the creation of a Courses Committee, Boards of Study, and Subject Committees, forming an internal hierarchy of screening committees through which all submissions for courses have to pass. This was clear evidence of internal innovation in structural improvement. This intra-institutional rationalization of the development of academic programmes continued at the same time as both the State and Federal bodies concerned with course approval gained in expertise and knowledge.

It is interesting to note that despite the presence of the Tertiary Education Commission the Institute still maintains considerable autonomy in programme development. In fact, the Tertiary Education Commission acts through accrediting panels, which it appoints in each instance with the Institute being directly involved in all discussions. Each panel generally consists of a university member, an advanced education member and a member from the relevant professional sector. At least one is generally drawn from interstate. The Commission publishes the report of each panel. Subject to such a report being favourable or the Institute having satisfied the Commission that appropriate steps have been taken to fulfil any requirements of the panel for accreditation of the course, the Tertiary Education Commission itself, rather than constituting a major hurdle which then needs to be cleared on the path to Federal approval, acts more as a supportive screen through which submissions pass with relatively little interference.

The third triennium (1973-75) was highlighted by the introduction of full Federal funding in 1974. Not only had the Commission on Advanced Education gained in experience and expertise since its inception, but it now had a more substantial monetary power base. While the general flow of decision-making through the Institute, to the Tertiary Education Commission, then ultimately to Canberra had not altered, the locus of initiative and power certainly had. The Institute having fully developed a relatively efficient programme development structure, was having to operate on lower levels of innovation, particularly as the likelihood of budget reductions increased. Murdoch University was in the process of establishment and the Teachers' Colleges were seeking to expand and diversify. A structure, which in previous years had facilitated the development and approval of a great number of courses, was now constrained to a much greater degree by external influences including related programmes in other institutions and an emerging competition for students. It is important to note that in the shifts of power which were occurring, the Tertiary Education Commission remained at approximately the same level of influence as held prior to full Federal funding. The 1967-69 triennium pattern of high levels of institutional autonomy with Federal ratification had moved to one of increased levels of centralized power in Canberra with corresponding reductions in institutional innovation and authority. This has been re-emphasized for 1976 with a complete ban at Commonwealth level on all new developments. With the present lack of action on the part of the Commission with regard to course approvals this appears to be effectively extending to 1977 since further delay will make implementation impossible for next year.

Critique and Speculation

While the main thrust of this paper is to examine administrative structures and relationships, no fruitful discussion can take place without a recognition of the achievements of the past and the present and the probably future climate.

The development of higher education over the past ten years has occurred very rapidly. It is to the credit of the governments and institutions involved that so much has been done in what appears to be a very effective way. This is even more so when it is recognized that governments have really had very little knowledge and skill in establishing and operating the administrative machinery necessary to cope with such an amazing expansion. It would appear that some expertise was beginning to emerge over the past few years, even if there appeared also some undesirable consequences for individual institutions.

However the rapidly changing political, economic and social climate over the past two years has posed major problems for the system, and it is doubtful whether the administrative structure and the administrative expertise are adequate to cope with the present situation, either at government or institutional level. Economic conditions have resulted already in severe restraints in budgetary provisions. In addition however, it must be recognized that social attitudes towards education have changed, and it is doubtful whether the general public or the articulate and vocal section of the community will

support education to anything like the level that has occurred in the past few years. The room to manoeuvre at all levels of the system is extremely limited by major commitment to social policies that will be hard to change. For example it will be difficult to reverse such policies as the abolition of tuition fees, the provision of means tested student allowances, and staffing conditions which have led to permanency of appointment for most academic staff. The major consequence of these developments is that institutions will have to live within much more restricted resources and will have to find ways and means of getting more value for the money available as well as providing for new developments, probably at the expense of some existing activities.

Governments have to provide the climate and a structure for development within more restricted circumstances without, among other things, wrapping up the institutions in a tangle of bureaucracy. The situation calls for academic planning of a high order, together with a knowledge of resource allocation and utilization which can lead to adequate decision-making in the process of implementation of priorities. The need for ingenuity and initiative becomes even greater in such circumstances, and heavy-handed government control based on the expediency of blanket policies irrespective of particular need, will not be adequate to enable the tough decisions of the future to take place in an atmosphere conducive to success. There are signs already that the administrative machinery at the Commonwealth level is inadequate to cope, and indeed may be such as to inhibit patterns of development needed to meet the problems just outlined.

A key principle is that as much autonomy should rest with the individual institution as possible. Only in this way can maximum flexibility in responding to change and demand be preserved. At the same time institutions must face up to the need for accountability and for a rigorous and at times ruthless review of many of the things they have previously undertaken to do. Co-ordination and control will need to be a continuing feature of the development of higher education if the most effective use of resources is to be obtained. The major question is where that should be located and what is the minimum degree necessary to ensure that the interests of the community can be met with all reasonable economy and efficiency. However it must be repeated again that the solutions are most likely to be found at the institutional level and that a maximum degree of freedom is desirable to encourage adequate planning and flexibility to meet changing needs.

What are some of the possibilities for the future in terms of likely administrative machinery for higher education? On the one hand it might be assumed that the Commonwealth Government will continue to exercise almost total responsibility for the funding and hence the development of higher education. In other words the present situation will continue and will probably intensify in terms of administrative control. It is clear already that the Commission on Advanced Education has been flexing its muscles and exercising more and more control over institutions.

Furthermore the response to the budgetary crisis has been exercised in terms of blanket policies for Australia as a whole, not based apparently on adequate research information but on responses largely off the cuff. Even

if the amalgamation of the Commission on Advanced Education and the Universities Commission takes place it is difficult to see anything other than a continued increase of bureaucratic control for the colleges, especially with the strange dichotomy that appears to be made between the universities and the colleges, pointing up the differences of approach. The opportunity for the needs for individual institutions to be examined will become less and less, because of the size of the system and because all the signs of the classic bureaucracy will continue to appear. It would appear that no matter what the State Governments do to change machinery the local State governing body in Western Australia, at least as we see it, will continue to remain relatively weak unless very conscious effort is made to arrange things otherwise. This may happen to some extent with the changes in the Commission proposed by the Partridge Committee, although the dichotomy in treatment already referred to between universities and colleges is also apparent in its report.

On the other hand another possibility is for the Commonwealth Government largely to vacate the field and to hand back control and supervision to State Governments. Together with the handing back of responsibility would have to go the transfer of financial resources, perhaps earmarked or perhaps part of general revenue. There are many who would argue that this is the best possible solution because institutions then can deal on a face-to-face basis with government and with those employed by government, and furthermore it will be possible to respond more directly and quickly to the needs of the State. Again the principle of autonomous institutions is important in this situation. However, in order to provide adequate planning at the State system level and adequate control and decision-making mechanisms, the State body would have to be strengthened considerably beyond what appears now to be the case.

Perhaps a more likely possibility is some kind of joint Commonwealth/State venture with some powers being handed back by the Commonwealth to State control. It perhaps might be suggested under these circumstances that the role of the Commonwealth should be more that of looking at the overall policies for the nation, and in conjunction with the States setting very broad guidelines on general policies and on overall financial resources available from the Commonwealth.

Within these guidelines the States could then operate to develop policies appropriate to the State and take the necessary action to disperse resources. It is clear again that a strengthened State co-ordinating organization would be necessary in most States to provide a forum for argument and debate on the needs of institutions and to plan for continuity of development not possible perhaps if the ministerial/departmental organization was preferred.

In summary then it would appear that the administrative machinery and administrative relationships within the higher education sector have become increasingly bureaucratized at least for colleges under the present Commonwealth Government involvement. This has come about as a natural sequence of the development of the large organization and the individuals working in it gaining more expertise. The trend has been accentuated by the budgetary events of the past two years. The speculation is that this trend will continue

and will become worse unless active steps are taken to change the situation. Furthermore it has been argued that given the probable events of the next few years such a Commonwealth structure will be dysfunctional both to the system and more particularly to the individual institutions. A more flexible organization within which institutions can exercise autonomy to plan and establish priorities, while recognizing the need for a measure of co-ordination, control and accountability, is more likely to provide the conditions for response to the changing needs of the future.

A MODEL FOR REGIONAL TERTIARY EDUCATION

D. F. SMITH

Introduction

A review of the history of tertiary education in Australia suggests that until recently it has been provided by scattered institutions, rather than being seen as a system serving the needs of the whole population. This has meant that capital cities, because of their very nature, have been reasonably well provided, but outside these metropolitan areas development has been sporadic. Activity has been stimulated from time to time by different interest groups — the miners, the farmers, the teachers — or by local activity of sufficient political strength or apparent financial promise. External studies, which, properly developed, could have given wide opportunities for the scattered populations, has had a variable emphasis, both in the passage of time and from state to state.

As a result, participation in tertiary education by non-metropolitan people has been, and still is, very low by national standards. For instance, in 1965 figures for Western Australia were: Perth 9.3 per 1000 of population, country areas 2.5 per 1000.[1] In Tasmania in 1975, the southern population, largely urban in Hobart, had a participation rate of nearly 20 per 1000 of population, and the northern population, relatively more dispersed, around 10 per 1000. Using the index of participation by the 17 to 22 age cohort, in 1975 Victoria had 20.1% in tertiary education, Western Australia 20.7%, Queensland (less urbanised) 14.3%, and Tasmania (least urbanised) 12.0%.

These figures raise questions as to the nature and effectiveness of tertiary education in non-metropolitan areas, the attitudes of the people, and their mobility. Not only do they suffer the tyranny of distance, but are often at the same time socially conservative and technically radical, socially coherent and yet fragmented, and knowledgeable about the physical and biological environment yet ignorant of the larger social environment and its opportunities. Of course, it may be that participation should (or would?) never be as high as for urban areas because the more complex urban community has a higher content of jobs which warrant education to a tertiary level, and therefore more job opportunities for the tertiary trained.

The paper is in two sections. First, I will look at the historical development of non-metropolitan tertiary education, then review some recent studies of relevance to the design of appropriate institutions. A scheme for differentiation of institutions will be presented, and, finally, I will describe the characteristics which I believe an institution must have to meet the needs of such populations. This is not meant to imply that many of our institutions do not have some of these characteristics. Some have, or are developing

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[1] *Tertiary Education in Western Australia.* Report of the Committee appointed by the Premier of Western Australia under the Chairmanship of Sir Lawrence Jackson. Perth, September 1967. (Referred to as the Jackson Report.)

them, and some documents — for instance, the planning document for Mitchell College at Bathurst — set out the characteristics very well.[2]

History — From Scattered Units to a System

The history of tertiary education in Australia can be divided into two periods. In the first, institutions were more or less independent entities, for most of the period usually only one of a kind within each State. Exceptions were the *quasi* tertiary agricultural and teachers' colleges, and schools of mines. Establishment of new units was more the result of local interest group pressure than co-ordinated state or national planning. In the second period — virtually the last twenty years — there has been evolution from scattered, independent units towards some semblance of a national tertiary education system. Important spurts forward in this evolution have been the Murray Report[3] (and some co-ordination of universities associated with Commonwealth funding), the Martin Report[4] (and some co-ordination of other institutions, again associated with Commonwealth funding), and, hopefully, the amalgamation of the two commissions. The resultant periodic (usually triennial) publication of commission reports has increasingly co-ordinated and systematised tertiary education. However, acceptance of these as significant forward moves is not meant to imply that centralised financing and control is a necessary prerequisite for co-ordination.

There is still far to go. As well as decisions as to the nature of the individual institutions, there is need to consider the shape and characteristics of the total system. This latter has had little attention from students of organisation science. Galbraith[5] has explored some hypotheses on the evolution of structures in industrial firms. In terms of his hypotheses, the first stage in drawing isolated units together is the addition of hierarchical superstructures. In due course problems of differentiation, the need for integration and rationalisation, increasing task uncertainty and the sheer volume of information flow up the pyramid to decision points, will demand some sort of matrix organisation, not unlike those proposed by some for the organisation of the institutions themselves. Features of such a matrix are acceptance of dual authority (from two directions) from two sources of power. In tertiary education, formula funding, really a form of PPBS, would be a part of this, removing the need for massive flows of information up the hierarchy (to Canberra).

A second area in which decisions must be made is whether or not the system will contain major subdivisions, i.e. whether it will be binary,

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[2]*Committee to Investigate the Proposal to Establish a College of Advanced Education at Bathurst, Sydney*. Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister for Education and Science, 1967. (Referred to as the Bathurst Report.)

[3]*Committee on Australian Universities*. Report, 1957. (Referred to as the Murray Report.)

[4]*Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia*. Report, 1964-5. (Referred to as the Martin Report.)

[5]Galbraith, J. R.: "Organization Design: An Information Processing View". In *Organization Planning: Cases and Concepts*. Edited by J. W. Lorsch and P. R. Lawrence. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey, 1972.

trinary, or whatever. Is technical education part of tertiary education, or has the development of colleges of advanced education put technical education in a definite, non-tertiary place? The scrambling of the secondary-tertiary interface has made the formation of some types of institutions more possible, but has also made education more difficult to manage and co-ordinate.

Compounding historical accident, the application of the binary system has left a scattering of newer tertiary institutions, in addition to the early *quasi* tertiary colleges. There is a university at Townsville, a CAE at Rockhampton, a university at Armidale, a CAE at Bathurst, a university proposed for Albury, a CAE at Ballarat, a university at Geelong, a CAE at Launceston — and so on. Yet the needs of the people in these localities are basically the same. The application of the binary system to non-metropolitan areas does not appear to have a high degree of logic.

The third major consideration is the degree to which needs of immobile people — especially mature aged — will shape the institutions. We have long presumed that adolescent full-time students can — or want to — move away from home, so that location of the institution in relation to domicile was not considered important, though the provision of residential halls was. In other words, country students could move to the city. This presupposed awareness of distant opportunities and both monetary and psychological resources to cope with relocation. Participation rates suggest that these assumpions were not always valid. Concern for the immobile people — the adolescents who have not moved away, but more especially the adults frozen into the community by family or employment ties — suggests that institutions must not only be located outside the large conurbations, but must be structured so as to reach into the community. At the same time, the number of people in any given community likely to demand recurrent or concurrent education remains a great unknown. And will these people want vocational courses to help get new employment, or general courses to broaden them in a continuing life situation?

Recent Studies

Though a great number of studies make mention of non-metropolitan problems, several have a high degree of relevance to regional tertiary education.

An inquiry into tertiary education in Western Australia[6] and the report of a committee studying the needs of the Bathurst[7] area (both in 1967) illustrate thinking at the time of (or at least, soon after) the formulation of the binary system of tertiary education. The reports which include consideration of the needs of Albury/Wodonga[8] in one case and Geelong/

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[6]Jackson Report, op. cit.

[7]Bathurst Report, op. cit.

[8]Australian Universities Commission and Australian Commission on Advanced Education: *The Location, Nature and Development of Institutions of Tertiary Education in Sydney, Melbourne and the Albury/Wodonga Region.* Report, March 1973. (Referred to as the Albury/Wodonga Report.)

Ballarat/Bendigo[9] in the other (both in 1973) are also of special significance in that by 1973 the binary system was being sorely tested. The presentation of a report on the possible amalgamation of the two tertiary commissions[10] (in late 1975) and publication of the results of a massive study of regional colleges[11] (in 1976) are also events which will clearly contribute to the design and functioning of regional tertiary education.

The Jackson committee suggested "a composite college for the country". In a bold statement they faced the issue of lack of numbers, and the need to be innovative.

> On statistics alone, country colleges are not warranted in the immediate future. However the Committee recognises that decisions made now will commit the future for a long time to come, and we believe that a pilot project is needed to test the capacity of a country area to set in train faster regional development in tertiary education than mere statistics would indicate. Numerically, this project has no prospect of stabilising if restricted to university or technological or teacher education, therefore we have proposed a composite institution, making provision for all three kinds of education, and having rather more standing than a simple branch of a major institution.

However, in the end they recommended a pilot unit for Bunbury under the control of what is now WAIT, thus effectively labelling the type of education provided — on the vocational/technical side of the binary system.

The Bathurst Report also faced the issue of diverse needs, and recommended a comprehensive tertiary institution providing multi-level courses in both vocational and non-vocational areas of study, the latter through a diploma in liberal arts or humanities.

As pointed out above, both the Jackson and Bathurst Reports were written in the very early years of the binary system. In the following years situations tended to be seen as needing an institution on one side or other of the system. For non-metropolitan people it was mostly the vocational side, and many CAEs were established. In Victoria these were usually based on technical colleges (in the city as well as the country) and CAEs were seen as technical in emphasis. This remained so because teachers' colleges formed a separate stream — the State College of Victoria (SCV), and used this name, even though classified as CAEs. By contrast, in New South Wales some teachers' colleges were used as a basis for CAE development, and CAEs were not so sharply identified in the public mind as technical in emphasis.

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[9]Australian Universities Commission. *Proposal of the Government of Victoria for a Fourth University in Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo.* Report, December 1973. (Referred to as the Geelong Report.)

[10]*Panel to Advise on Arrangements for Amalgamating the Universities Commission and the Commission on Advanced Education.* Report, 1975. (Referred to as the TEC Panel Report.)

[11]*Regional Colleges: A Study of the Non-Metropolitan Colleges of Advanced Education in Australia.* Edited by D. S. Anderson, K. J. Batt, D. G. Beswick, G. S. Harman and C. Selby-Smith. Australian National University, 1975. (Referred to as the Regional Colleges Study.)

The Albury/Wodonga Report had been stimulated by a request from the Prime Minister who wrote, *inter alia*:

> . . . My Government would not necessarily preclude consideration being given to the establishment in one or more of the locations concerned of an institution that did not conform with the pattern of existing colleges and universities to the extent that it offered courses that spanned, and perhaps even went beyond, the interests of both types of institutions as presently existing.[12]

The Geelong Report followed a Victorian Government proposal for a 3-campus university at Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo. The Victorian Government saw the vocational arm of the binary system as being substantially identified with technical education, and the SCV units (former teachers' colleges) at Ballarat, Bendigo and Geelong as more akin to the liberal/academic stream. Accordingly, it chose the latter as a basis for a 3-campus university to help decentralisation. It could be argued that the State Government chose Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo rather than one university at Dandenong to gain votes in the country. However, in view of the large majority of the governing party, their secure hold on most provincial seats, and the Opposition holding Dandenong, this seems an unlikely theory. It does not seem unreasonable to accept on face value the stated desire to assist decentralisation at all three centres.

The Victorian Government was affirming the binary system and taking the view that all three cities with their regional catchments warranted differentiation of tertiary education into two units: one emphasising liberal/academic and including teacher education, and the other providing technological/vocational education. Rejection of the Victorian Government's plan was equivalent to a rejection of the binary system, or to claiming that the centres commanded too small a population for differentiation.

The authors of the Geelong Report in effect took the latter view (but otherwise affirmed the binary system in a confused way) by recommending a single institution for Geelong. Before doing so, they acknowledged the confused state of education:

> In looking at the spectrum of post-secondary education as it now exists, we see both gaps and overlapping of functions . . . It is also apparent that there is overlapping between institutions in areas such as teacher education, engineering and paramedical studies.
>
> . . . and (the time may be) opportune to re-examine the whole spectrum of post-secondary education.[13]

However, neither report did much to reduce the prevailing confusion. For instance, in the Albury/Wodonga Report it is suggested that the university establish technical courses early, and that it be a major centre for external students. Riverina CAE (which has a study centre in Albury) is seen as the

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[12]Albury/Wodonga Report, op. cit., p. 39, para. 9.14.

[13]Geelong Report, op. cit., p. 8, paras. 5.3 and 5.4.

other arm of a binary system because it does three things a university should not do: it trains teachers; it has courses of less than three years' duration; and it has part-time students. Paradoxically, the proposed university would be a major centre for external studies — virtually all part-time students! And Riverina happens to group part-time and external into one Department of External Studies!

The report suggests that after 1990 the area may justify a second institution along the lines of a "conventional" CAE.[14] At the border between New South Wales and Victoria, what *is* a conventional CAE? Is it an institution which grew out of a technical college (common in Victoria), or out of a teachers' college (common in New South Wales)?

In the Geelong Report the commissioners mistook stage of development for "goodness of fit" into the university side of a binary system. They argued that because they were well-equipped, rapidly developing institutions,[15] the Victoria Institute of Colleges units provided equally as good, if not a better basis for the development of a university as the less well-equipped State College of Victoria units. In the same vein, the report suggests that because of size and stage of development, some metropolitan colleges have strong arguments for university status.[16] Yet it is these very institutions which should be expected to know, and keep, their place. If there *is* a binary system, they should be clearly differentiated from universities.

Range of studies is also used as a criterion: ". . . colleges provide a wider spectrum of tertiary education than do universities"[17] — a very questionable assertion, in any case.

The authors of the Geelong Report saw the country members of the Victoria Institute of Colleges as the countryman's universities:

> . . . in terms of educational offerings, with the possible exception of the humanities, the colleges provide a wider spectrum of tertiary education than do universities. This makes them particularly appropriate as institutions of higher education in country areas where the regional population is not sufficient to support both a university and a college of reasonable size . . . it may, in fact, satisfy the needs of the area more adequately than a more specialised institution.[18]

Surely it could be argued that a vocationally oriented unit is essentially more specialised than a university! Further, the report suggests that where the only tertiary institution in the region is a university, it may be desirable for that institution "to develop a wider range of teaching than at present . . . this possibility should certainly be kept open".[19] Curiously, it does not discuss the issue of regions where there is only a CAE — there were many such, but none with only a university!

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[14]Albury/Wodonga Report, op. cit., p. 39, para. 9.14.
[15]Geelong Report, op. cit., p. 49, paras. 8.11 and 8.12; p. 47, para. 8.2.
[16]Ibid., p. 52, para. 9.7.
[17]Ibid., p. 12, para. 3.5.
[18]Loc. cit.
[19]Ibid., p. 14, para. 3.9.

It is argued that the decision whether to have a university or a CAE at Albury is somewhat arbitrary, "since a wide range of tertiary courses could be provided by either a university or a college".[20] The decision to nevertheless recommend a university turned on the need for *applied* social and industrial research into *local* problems.[21] Perhaps most significantly there is a recommendation that the charter of the new university should be such that it could later be integrated into a comprehensive institution.[22]

No wonder Parry was moved to say:

> (we should) set about establishing, documenting and promulgating policies . . . plans can only be based on policies . . . (we get) an impression of considerable *"ad hocery"* in decisions on particular issues.

He suggested that in forming Deakin University "new rules will *unwittingly* have been written . . . the emphasis will be on meeting the total higher educational needs of its surrounding region".[23]

Thus both the Albury and Geelong Reports argued for a move toward a new type of comprehensive tertiary institution as a solution to the needs of non-metropolitan people, but backed off when it came to specific recommendations. In particular, forward moves seemed to trip up on the binary system: a felt need to tie the institution to one side or the other, but still let it carry out its task.

Even though the committee inquiring into amalgamation of the two tertiary commissions[24] specifically rejected the argument that there was no meaningful distinction between universities and CAEs, the proposed amalgamation of the commissions should assist the local integration of activity into a comprehensive unit — it was noted that the two bodies could become involved in joint exercises.[25]

Anderson et al., in their monumental study of regional communities and colleges, became aware of the limitation of specific binary classification:

> the non-metropolitan CAE can be placed at a disadvantage (even embarrassed) since it cannot fully play the part required of it . . . there is also demand for a wide range of other courses . . . where appropriate colleges wishing to do so might be positively encouraged to offer a more diversified and more comprehensive educational service to their locality.[26]

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[20]And ". . . the schools of *technology* . . . the new *university* would be set up at an early date". Albury/Wodonga Report, op. cit., p. 29, para. 9.9. (Author's emphasis.)

[21]Ibid., p. 28, para. 9.7.

[22]Ibid., p. 28, para. 9.8.

[23]Parry, R. E.: "Future of CAEs". In *Whither Advanced Education?*, FSAACAE Conference. Melbourne: National Press, 1974.

[24]TEC Panel Report, op. cit.

[25]Ibid., p. 38, para. 5.13.

[26]Regional Colleges Study, op. cit., p. 384.

And, later:

> The division of post-secondary education into distinct sectors may be particularly inappropriate for many country centres. We see . . . institutions responding flexibly to local needs and providing a mixture of tertiary and sub-tertiary courses . . . coupled . . . with non-vocational courses and improved facilities for external study.[27]

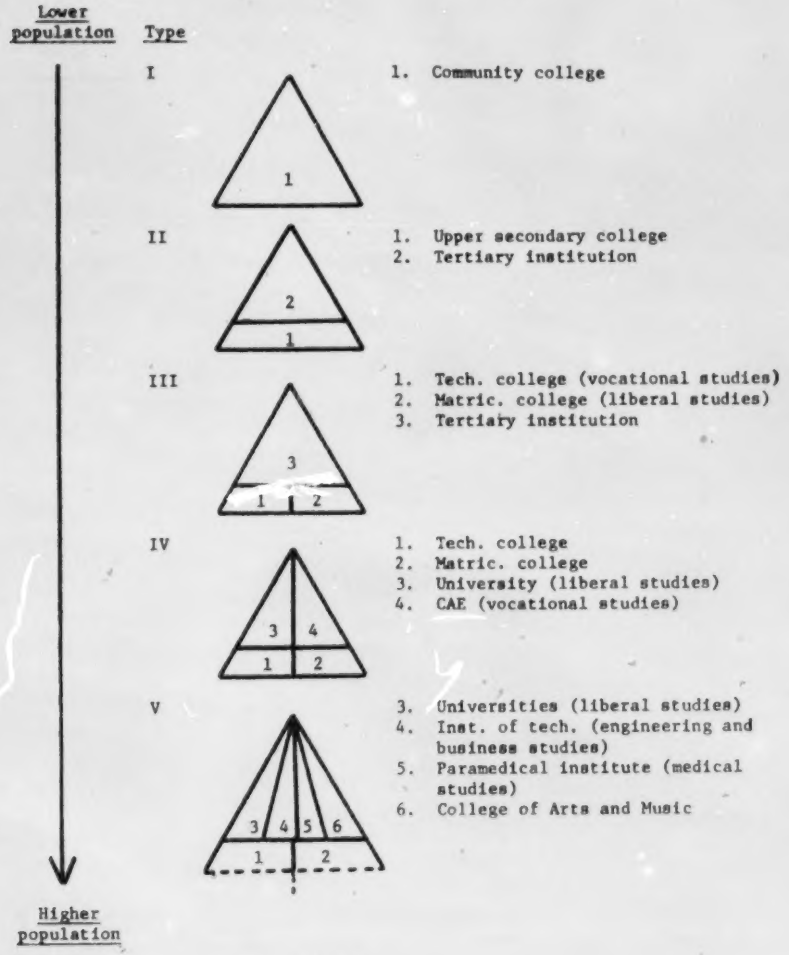

Figure 1

Differentiation of education with increasing population

[27]Ibid., p. 392.

A Schema for Differentiation

Figure 1 is an attempt to illustrate diagrammatically a scheme of institutional definition and differentiation which can be applied with some consistency, and also be comprehensible to the community.

The stages, with increasing population, are:

(1) a community college of 1800 students, 500 of them tertiary, serving a community of 30,000-60,000 people;

(2) differentiation into a comprehensive upper secondary, and a separate comprehensive tertiary institution;

(3) differentiation of upper secondary;

(4) differentiation into a binary tertiary;

(5) specialisation and diversity *within* the two binary arms.

Such a schema would suggest that to label the undifferentiated regional comprehensive tertiary institution as either of the binary types is to imply that non-metropolitan people need one type of education or the other and must (will?) move away for the other sort.

Participation rates, size and viability: For the purposes of development of this model, it is proposed that participation rates would be approximately:

	With comprehensive tertiary	*With community college including some secondary*
CAE type courses	9 per 1000	7 per 1000
University type courses	4 per 1000	3 per 1000
Moving away	4 per 1000	7 per 1000

On this basis a region of 100,000 would contribute 1300 students to a local institution, but a pool of nearly 400,000 would be required to provide the 5000 suggested in the Albury/Wodonga Report as the potential before a CAE should be established. For a university a potential of 10,000 is suggested, and a numerical model presented for Albury/Wodonga suggests 10,620 by 1990 — 20.5% of the 17-22 year old cohort, 1000 from outside the region *plus* as many external students, presumably also from outside the region. In fact, few regions draw from 200,000, let alone 400,000 people, and there is often in-region competition at the margins.

The figure suggested by Martin[28] — 1500 in five years for a CAE — would appear to be a realistic one. Table 1 lists the non-metropolitan tertiary institutions in Australia with their 1975 enrolments. Many of these are more than five years old, and numbers confirm the likelihood of 1500-2500 being a common size. The challenge is to develop appropriate structures for units of this size, rather than attempt to generate larger numbers by drawing from other regions.

[28]Martin Report, op. cit.

TABLE 1

STUDENT NUMBERS IN NON-METROPOLITAN CAEs AND UNIVERSITIES 1975

(from Commission Reports 1975)

Institution	*Location*	*Students*			
		Full-time	*Part-time*	*External*	*Total*
State College	Geelong	671	12		683
Gordon Inst.	Geelong	1000	395		1395
TOTAL	Geelong	1671	407		2078
State College	Ballarat	685	30		715
IAE	Ballarat	755	235		990
TOTAL	Ballarat	1440	265		1705
State College	Bendigo	685	85		770
IAE	Bendigo	685	305	125	1115
TOTAL	Bendigo	1370	390	125	1885
IAE	Warrnambool	320	230	115	665
Gippsland IAE	Morwell	480	120	750	1350
Riverina CAE	Wagga	1120			
Agric. College	Wagga	180			
TOTAL	Wagga	1300	240	580	2120
Mitchell CAE	Bathurst	1220	260	1040	2520
N. Rivers CAE	Lismore	510	30	70	610
Darling Downs IAE	Toowoomba	1375	331	142	1848
Capricornia IAE	Rockhampton	848	237	194	1279
CAE	Townsville	544			544
CAE	Armidale	800		470	1270
CAE	Newcastle	1760	140	330	2230
IAE	Wollongong	840		300	1140
CAE	Goulburn	700		300	1000
Agric. Colleges:					
Queensland	Gatton	496	1		497
Hawkesbury	Richmond	408	2		410
Orange	Orange	90			90
Dookie	Shepparton	86	4		90
Longerenong	Horsham	49	1		50
Roseworthy	Roseworthy	243			243
Forestry School	Creswick	30			30
TOTAL	Perth, W.A.	8769	6341	1284	16394
TOTAL	Adelaide, S.A.	7332	5634	1152	14118
CAE	Canberra	1993	2198		4191
Tasmanian CAE	Hobart	1294	357		1651
Tasmanian CAE	Launceston	571	121		692
TOTAL	Tasmania	1865	478		2343
James Cook Uni.	Townsville	1187	420		1607
Uni. of New Eng.	Armidale	2741	131	4067	6939
Uni. of Newcastle	Newcastle	2466	1584		4050
Uni. of Wollongong	Wollongong	1104	894		1998

IAE = Institute of Advanced Education.

CAE = College of Advanced Education.

The model for differentiation (Figure 1) proposes a type of community college for smaller populations — a later and higher version of the higher elementary schools, higher primary schools, and the like of 30 years ago, when secondary education was spreading to more dispersed populations. Some care is needed in definition and design of these combined secondary and tertiary colleges. Though we are adopting the term "community college", the units proposed are not much like North American community colleges. The other related problem will be whether to give adjoining districts of 30,000 a community college each, or combine to give one (or a small town in between) a smallish comprehensive tertiary institution.

The notion of minimum viable size and the suggestion that "existing institutions be properly utilised before additional institutions are developed"[29] have generally worked against non-metropolitan people, because complete development is not strictly defined. In Tasmania in 1967, the powerful arguments for an institution to serve the half of the population living in the north of the State were countered by urgings to "have a real University of Tasmania first".[30]

Features of a Regional Tertiary Institution

It can be seen from the studies reviewed above that the last few years have seen a growing recognition that the tertiary education of a region should be provided by an institution distinctively designed for the purpose, not just copied from the capital city institutions. Unfortunately, in a time of innovation in education, no attempts have been made to fully spell out a design and then set up a comprehensive institution, and it may be much more difficult in an era when growth in enrolments is slow and money scarce. In the meantime, a number of institutions have evolved in this direction, though inhibited by classification and administrative arrangements. Surely deliberate goal setting and planning based on educational theory and models is far superior to haphazard evolution occurring under the influence of changing political and economic forces, and often based on ill-defined ideas and vague assumptions.

In designing a regional tertiary institution the following basic philosophies and policies are proposed:

— The disposition of the resource inputs of education should be such as to as nearly as possible provide equality of educational opportunity for people, whether metropolitan or non-metropolitan.

— Tertiary education should provide for the mobile, full-time adolescent, and also the immobilised adult, frozen into the community by employment or domestic circumstances.

— Accepting that decentralisation is a societal objective, education should be used as a decentralising activity, countering the concentration of resources in large and rapidly growing conurbations.

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[29]Geelong Report, op. cit., p. 18, para. 4.7.

[30]*Committee of Inquiry into Extension of University Education in Tasmania.* Report by H. Burton and J. F. Clark. University of Tasmania, 1966. (Referred to as the Burton-Clark Report.)

— Institutions should reach out into, and be shaped by their community: the removal of organisational and administrative barriers should make the "external" student almost unnecessary.

— Educational institutions should be interdependent, with rationalisation on both a state and national basis.

— Organisational structures and teaching methods should be such as to allow flexible and efficient use of resources, including staff.

Some of these are of general importance in tertiary education (for example, the last two points), and the others more critical for regional units. However, the discussion here will be confined to the regional situation.

It is suggested that an institution developed from these philosophies and policies would have the following operational features:

— A range of courses to serve the community, both its town and country components, in both liberal and vocational studies.

— A variety of extensions into the community, ranging from the major campus, through permanent study centres, *ad hoc* study centres in small locations, to some individual home study.

— Openness to students with a range of educational and life experiences, and a variety of pathways to courses.

— A range of time connections allowing full-time to single subject study, and, periodically at least, block study of single subjects.

— Integration of study areas, rather than a loose federation of several schools to form a college.

— Provision for involvement of staff (or special associates) in local research, surveys and consultations.

Range of courses: Courses would fall into three categories: local — sustainable in virtually every region; state — part of a rational state coverage; and, hopefully, national — part of a national plan, serving the whole nation.

Vocational courses in teacher education, business studies, nursing, general technology and life management should be sustainable in each region. Such courses as music, art and liberal studies should be provided. Some of the students will be seeking employment, some simply a widening of their horizons.

The teacher education unit can be (usually has been) a nucleus for the development of general courses in sciences and humanities. Given a unit of 200-300 secondary student-teachers, and avoiding too wide a range of options, viable academic units[31] in the sciences and humanities could be developed.

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[31] It is difficult to define a viable teaching unit in terms of staff or student numbers. Large student numbers with a wide range of options could fragment to a point where a lecturer in a discipline still feels a "loner". Much will depend on the presence of other well-educated local people and/or staff travel for contact and conferences: staff must not feel isolated.

Certain courses may only be viable at a limited number of locations in the State, perhaps only one. There has been a tendency to automatically develop new courses in the capital or major centres, even when courses relate better to non-metropolitan areas. For example, in Victoria it was a pity that the second degree course in agriculture was not reserved for a non-metropolitan institution. Instead, a close copy of the Melbourne course has been established at La Trobe. The New South Wales pattern of diversity and dispersion is much more sensible. In Tasmania, farm management and probably forest management and timber technology are more sensibly located in the north than the south.

There are some courses which would only be justified at one or a few locations in Australia, and these should be dispersed. One of the factors in this (and the State course locations) should be the strong positive effect of relocation of students *into* a regional unit, compared with the negligible negative effect on educational opportunity in the metropolitan area if these students are removed from it. For instance, the relocation of fifty social work students from the Melbourne area to Gippsland would ensure viability of a course there, but have negligible effect within Melbourne. The course could emphasise the social welfare problems of rural people.

The involvement of community groups in course development and college policy formulation is essential. However, the regional college, particularly if seen as a community college in a narrow sense, could easily become provincial in its outlook. This could be avoided by being part of a national network, and by having some state, and even national, figures on its governing council.

The extended institution and off-campus teaching: The courses and timetable arrangements of institutions in regional centres have tended to reflect the interests and convenience of the nearby urban community without specific regard for the more remote, dispersed people. The latter have had some service from some distant institution (which may claim to specialise in techniques of communication) through external studies.

The place of external studies has been peculiar. Somewhat illogically, those living far enough away to be counted as needing external studies (if this can be defined) are also seen as needing different courses, even a wider range of courses, than those close by. As an example, the argument has been advanced that in Tasmania the 40,000 people at Burnie on the north-west coast 90 miles from Launceston should not look to a CAE at Launceston for courses because the offering would be too limited. Launceston serves 100,000 people. The net result of developing external studies from outside could be to reduce the range of viable courses and weaken the local institution.

Any change that reduces the needed frequency of attendance, for example changes in timetabling, and/or permission for students to use off-campus modes of learning, either totally or in part, will have two effects — it will reduce the cost for the more distant student and reduce the number of students needing external studies from elsewhere by enlarging considerably the catchment area of the local institution. The former is important — costs to the individual (especially for transport, but also for postage) or the

employer (especially time lost) are given too little consideration: the focus tends to be on institutional costs.

Timetabling and learning arrangements should maximise opportunities for more remote people, making the traditional correspondence student almost a thing of the past.

None of this denies that throughout any region — urban or rural — there will be a small number of people wanting unusual subjects. But they are as likely to live next door to the local institution as they are to live at a distance.

The traditional "every course each year" approach can also be questioned. There may be enough students for a "revolving" course: part one this year, part two next year, part three the year after — then part one again. Or the location may change from one study centre to another, with "fly-in" staff. Short, concentrated study units may be more useful to some students. Employment pressures may be accommodated: for example, business studies avoiding stocktaking and the end of the financial year; or farm management avoiding haymaking. Variation from year to year may be helpful for different groups. An essential feature for many courses (the ones provided mostly for concurrent and even much recurrent education) must be that students can enrol with an expectation that they can complete the course without changing their domicile. Transfer courses may be provided, but aimed at the full-time adolescent rather than the part-time adult unable to relocate.

The location and associations of the study centres would need careful consideration to ensure maximum acceptance by the community as genuinely tertiary education.

Openness: Because of the need for numbers of students, and because of the way in which "open entry" has become an "article of faith" to many educationists, there is probably more danger of entry being too easy than too difficult. Openness could easily either lower standards, or accentuate feelings of failure.

The possibility of re-entry at upper secondary levels, or joint enrolment at different levels in either a college cluster or a community college may be advantageous to some students. With a wide diversity of applicants geographically scattered, the regional institution must take care to create opportunities, yet maintain standards. Counselling services and "boundary riders" will be a vital part of the structure.

Integration rather than federation: One of the basic features of the non-university sector of higher education has been close links — almost an identification — with the professions being served. This has been very marked in education, where CAE teacher education has retained its former teachers' college links.

Both because of such links and the influence of professional bodies, courses have been specialised from the beginning of first year with little sharing of study units. Instead of a general Biology I, as in universities, a CAE might have biology for teachers, biology for pharmacists, and biology

for paramedics. Or engineers may learn physics as Engineering I, scorning the physics for teachers.

In large student populations the result of this academic and professional isolationism does not have a serious effect on unit costs, and does not inhibit the development of new courses. But in regional units it renders many courses marginal, or even inoperative, and greatly adds to the unit cost of others. It can also prevent regional units acting as first year colleges for some course areas — feeders for other institutions.

The regional unit, being a comprehensive institution teaching liberal and vocational studies, should be more integrated between study areas. The liberal studies should provide basic sciences and humanities, with vocational studies increasing through later years. Clearly the later professional subjects must be taught separately, and also the later units of liberal studies. However, at least the first half of any course is likely to have substantial sections in common with other groups.

This sharing could be reflected in awards. If liberal studies awards are made at the diploma level (0.6 of a degree, perhaps called a Diploma of Arts or Science, rather like the American A.A. or English Dip.He.), a teacher education student could emerge after four years with Dip.A. (or Sc.), B.Ed., as concurrent awards, or the Dip.A. could be awarded later, after additional units of study. In some instances the Dip.He. has been used as an integrator. For instance, in the merger of High Wycombe College of Technology and Art with Newland Park College of Education to form Buckinghamshire College of Higher Education.[32]

The result must be an integrated institution of mutually supportive groups, which still retain the essential characteristics of the professional courses. The administrative arrangements and structures must facilitate this.

Regional research and advisory services: The regional college should have research and advisory functions to keep it in touch with the realities of the region. This need not be basic research, but rather research of specific value to the region — as envisaged for Albury/Wodonga, though why local research is needed more in a growth centre than in other regions is a good question. While the Land Grant College of the U.S.A. focused on agricultural research, the regional college might well carry out more research in the social sciences: for example, surveys as support for the Australian Assistance Plan, or land use research for the local Regional Planning Authority. Some CAEs are moving in this area. For example, Northern Rivers at Lismore plans to appoint a research leader,[33] and at Wagga a Riverina County Council research worker is based at the college, presumably to link him in with the body of academics and the stimulus and resources they provide.

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[32] *Times Higher Education Supplement*, November 7, 1975.

[33] It is hoped that this leader "will set an ethos for the college in applied research, oriented towards the needs of the community and the College". F. C. Whitebrook, Principal, in a letter to the author, May 22, 1975.

An educational link alone may be inadequate — the combination of this with investigation of problems and advice may give the institution much deeper roots in the community.

Perhaps what is needed in Australia is a modern equivalent to the Land Grant Colleges — an institution in every region which aims to serve not only the interests of country elements of town and country, but the interests of town, whether large or small, as well.

Summary and Conclusions

The last twenty years has seen rapid evolution towards a national system of tertiary education, especially in the last decade with the establishment of the CAEs and complete federal financing of tertiary education. However, analysis of the activities of this period suggests that non-metropolitan (regional) tertiary education has not usually been seen as a special problem demanding its own solution. Rather, the same structures have been used for city and country, the same criteria of viability have been applied, and there has been little consideration of the nature and needs of regions. This is particularly so in the conception and application of the binary system, which suggests an inadequate theoretical educational framework for this important development. The inadequacies of the approach used, and the confusion caused are illustrated in the special investigations into the needs of regions or regional centres such as Albury/Wodonga and Geelong.

It is argued here that differentiation of tertiary education into a binary system — usually liberal-academic (university) and vocational-technical (CAE) — is only applicable to the large metropolitan populations. Outside the major conurbations there should be no differentiation: the single institution should be a comprehensive tertiary institution neither belonging to one side or other of the binary system, nor administratively linked to either the vocationally oriented institutions or the universities. With an even smaller population there may be some combination of tertiary and technical education to constitute a type of community college.

Participation in tertiary education by non-metropolitan people is relatively low. Here it is argued that this is partly due to failure to design suitable institutions. Certain institutional features and emphases are suggested that would enable an institution to more readily serve the needs of a region. These include a variety of teaching modes to allow off-campus and distance learning; integration of study areas rather than the separation so characteristic of vocationally oriented institutions; a range of levels including diploma and degree courses; and development of applied research activity.

The evolving of a system of tertiary education should not mean uniformity, either of programs or application of size and cost criteria. The application of the models suggested here should see extension of educational opportunities to the significant proportion of Australia's people living outside the metropolitan areas.

POLICY ORIENTATED EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

K. B. START

Introduction

"Part of educational research is rubbish, part leads nowhere, and only in exceptional cases does it hit the nail on the head." So spoke Sir William Pile (1976).

Disturbing though those words are they can, of course, be discounted as knights are not the repository of all learning. Some are opinionated without the bases of what might be embarrassing fact. Anyway what is one statement?

One problem was that he made his observation to a House of Commons sub-committee, the British Government's special enquiry into the running of its departments and which really means exploring ways of cutting costs. If an opinionated knight was to give forth, to do so in front of a select committee was about as pointed a place as one could imagine. However, select committees are usually comprised of responsible men who should be able to sort out the "irrelevant" comments of "opinionated" knights.

However, the "irrelevant" comments of the "opinionated" knight take on quite a different perspective when the knight is revealed as the permanent Secretary, the administrative head of the Department of Education and Science in England. It is one thing for an individual to make such comments: but when the most senior civil servant makes it about the research activities associated with his own department, to a select committee looking at ways of reducing government expenditure, the impact and implications of what is being said could reside long in the ears of such a committee as well as in those having to make decisions based on the committee's recommendations. The publicity given to this opinion, to the evidence which was submitted to the committee and its resulting recommendations might prove embarrassingly illuminating.

As most Australian educators know the sources of research funds for Education in England arise primarily from the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) the Schools Council, the Social Science Research Committee, and the private foundations. Little money comes to education from purely university sources although the Vice Chancellor's Committee did fund the N.F.E.R. to evaluate the test of academic aptitude developed for University selection purposes. The private foundations such as Nuffield and Levehulme make significant contributions to educational research. However, the major sponsor of educational research remains the Department of Education and Science either directly or through the "autonomous" agencies as essentially it funds the Schools Council and the S.S.R.C.

The picture in Australia is similar in structure though there are significant variations in method and detail. The Australian Department of Education does not appear to finance research directly with the same aplomb as its English counterpart the D.E.S. The Australian Academy of Social Science does not appear to finance educational research with anything like the enthusiasm of

the education committee of the S.S.R.C. of England. The A.R.G.C. shares with its English counterpart the reluctance to become over-generous with large grants to educational projects. Both look to a high theoretical content in the research and a rigor which so often is absent from educational submissions. The Educational Research and Development Committee (E.R.D.C.) could be seen either as the educational committee of the English S.S.R.C., the funding arm of the Department of Education, or, in conjunction with the Schools Commission the equivalent of the Schools Council. In addition there are the private foundations offering support. Overall therefore the funding picture is not so much different.

Little needs to be said about the economic picture in England. Note that the pound sterling is at its lowest point ever against the U.S. dollar, that the N.U.T. (1976), reported a minimum of 3,900 teachers unemployed, that universities are leaving positions unfilled in an effort to cut costs, and that local Education Authorities are reducing capital expenditure to use the money to pay teacher salaries. The government's Select Committee had sought the views of Sir William Pile as to his department's contribution to the government's drive to economise.

We in Australia are not in such dire economic straits. Yet we have come to the end of the euphoria of educational spending which reached its millennium in 1974/75. The hiccough in the triennial university budgeting with its now historic Sixth Report and the rethink of School Commission spending along with all other government agencies, suggests that the flow of funds will not necessarily be maintained at its previous copious level in education. Hence while the economic parallels with England are not that close we might well pay heed to the constraints that do occur there. It is far better to anticipate what could be the options rather than having them hacked post-hoc into existence by budgetary edict.

Where does this leave policy orientated research? With economic stringency two constraints emerge. The jaundiced eye of cost benefit analysis can be applied "a la" the Rothschild report or an across-the-board cut as mooted in the James Report. More usually a little (or a lot!) of both is applied.

Research in General

One can all too easily be sucked into the hiatus of semantics and dialectic which surrounds "pure" and "applied" research. Existing as they do as a multidimensional continuum the "pure" merges with the "applied" on a particular dimension and additionally what is "pure" on the dimension of one purpose becomes classified as "applied" when viewed along the dimension of another purpose. Pure and applied has not been a very fruitful dichotomy of a continuous variable.

It is just as likely that a dichotomy into "policy" and "non-policy" research will not introduce a much greater clarity either. Inevitably there will be the grey areas. There is the research that has its justification solely in its training function for the novitiates. Some will debate whether this should be rightly termed research. It does become the bread and butter activity of

departments with significant numbers of masters and perhaps doctoral candidates. It is the training ground for future researchers. It may well be that the outcomes are usable or are contributions to knowledge but the majority are suspect because of the very nature of the training process.

There is the research that is done to further the boundaries of knowledge. The extension of the horizon becomes the end in itself. Knowledge for its own sake becomes the justification. This is what often gets called "pure" research and frequently is heavily discipline orientated. It usually contributes to some theory, and assists in the structuring of our experience. One could well say to established researchers "Here is $20,000. Go do your thing."

Apart from that the fact that this tack usually does not open too many doors to new talent, the finite limit of such funds does necessitate some pruning of the submissions and thus review committees assess the research design and the contribution to theory of the problem and its solution. This is the area in which the A.R.G.C. reigns supreme.

There is the research which tackles an immediate and existing problem and pursues it until the needed solution is found. Its contribution to theory development is incidental. Such studies are common in the technologies, in engineering, in industrial and allied scenarios. How can one get this dye to take onto nylon? How can one reduce the weight, yet increase the load bearing capacity of this engineering structure? How can one automate this series of manufacturing procedures? These are the classic examples of what has often been termed "applied" research.

The fourth category might be research which is related to policy and decision-taking. With some flights of the imagination one could see involved aspects of all of the previous three but one could comfortably fly lower and see some significant communality with the applied dimension. Perhaps policy research is to social science what applied research is to the sciences, technologies and engineering. Policy and decision orientated research do have constraints, purposes and utilities that are either absent or exist at a much lower key in other forms of research.

These will be gone into in much greater detail later but first, where has educational research fitted in with this tetrachotomy?

Educational Research

Certainly there has been an explosion in the quantity of educational research over the past fifty years. In many studies the increase in quality is also noteworthy. In others it is less so.

Certainly there has been a tremendous growth in training research. The growth in the numbers of dissertations of theses arising from B.Ed., but more particularly from the expanding master's programmes, has been considerable. The course work master's usually has a partial requirement for a thesis plus the courses and has produced "researchers" with an equivalent time commitment of approximately 15 weeks. These are unlikely to shake the world but for that matter, it is unlikely that a one year master's is going

to do much for society or its horizons of knowledge. From this expansion one might infer that the major growth area of educational research has been in its training function.

The boundaries of knowledge, the expanse of man's knowledge has not been threatened too severely by the thrusts of educational research over the past fifty years. Certainly we know more about how children learn and how teachers teach but these findings rarely develop significant theories. Most of our theories of learning have emanated from psychologists and the least said about theories of teaching the better. Our "newer" knowledge, understanding and theorising in education appears to have had their genesis in individuals' original disciplines then applied to education. Perhaps education is too young a discipline to have evolved to significant theoretical postulations. The nearest we may have come in our own right is in the curriculum area but that is known more for its development activity than for its evaluation, research or theory building phases. There are notable exceptions of course — Bloom and Bruner come to mind but the generalisation holds true.

As regards "applied" research education has made some little contribution but this class of research studies might, more accurately be placed along with policy or decision orientated research. This is the direction most of the recent valid educational research studies have endeavoured to go, but too much has gone ineptly, irrelevantly and too late.

Educational Research, Policy- and Decision-making

It would be foolish not to accept that educational research, as it has been undertaken in the past has had little effect on education policy. As Husen* put it pointedly "educational policy is determined by socio-political issues to which educational research may, but usually does not contribute". To understand why our research has had such little effect one must review what is involved in educational policy formulation and the resultant decision-making.

Coleman (1972) goes to some length to point policy and decision orientated research. He refers to Cronbach and Suppes (1969) dichotomy for their "decision orientated research" which he sees as providing "information that is important for policy decisions that must be made" but then chooses not to consider this classification further. He goes on to specifying policy research as being "the research designed as a guide to social action". Not surprisingly Coleman leaves "decision" research to develop the discussion of "policy" research which was after all the gist of his paper. His split between decision research and policy research is another dichotomy with which one might argue.

There are certain issues about policy orientated research that are crucially significant and separate such research from other forms of similar

*Speaking at the six weeks' residential international seminar on Curriculum Development, Research and Evaluation — Sweden in July and August 1971.

educational endeavour. These are time, relevance, communication and the balance of conflicting interests:—

Time

Whereas the discovery of penicillin had no deadline, research which provides data after the time decisions have to be taken may be an unwanted embarrassment.* Unlike the world of basic, theoretical or discipline research which is timeless, policy research is directed towards some finite decision or action, and time constraints are absolute.

The teacher in the classroom facing 30 children cannot "put them on ice" pending the outcomes of research. Principals with schools to run cannot cancel tomorrow because of lack of research based advice. The Director of Buildings cannot indent for 900 children's umbrellas whilst the pros and cons of Open Plan versus Traditional Designs are worked out. The politician cannot have as his educational platform the statement that his policy decisions will be taken in three years' time when the results of the research are known. The timetable for decision and consequent action is often set and the nature or direction of that decision determined by what information is available at the time the decision has to be made.

There will always be pressure from parents, teachers, principals, directors and politicians for answers to immediate problems. To these educators have responded nobly. But the problems are usually minimally related to policy formulation, rather they have arisen from previously taken policy decisions. Little educational research aims at providing data from which *future* policy may be factually derived. To provide data for future policy, the research must be directed at future problems. It must work years ahead rather than behind decisions. Incidentally, perhaps accidentally, there builds up over the years a bed of knowledge such as the surveys of achievement undertaken by the A.C.E.R.

Similar pools of information reside in the more subjective knowledge of the senior teachers, the inspectorate, and the administrators of the education department. But these are still reservoirs rather than directional rivers of research. Both are needed. The river might best arise from the reservoir but such educational researchers looking forward to the future are few and far between.

Relevance

There are two aspects to the relevance issue. One relates to Husen's comment from which one might infer that education has nowadays become so loaded with social and political issues that these, together with financial considerations, are the real dimensions on which educational policy decisions are taken. It would follow that in such circumstances educational research would be cosmetic rather than structural in policy matters. Perhaps the social and political policies are resolved first and educational issues then have to fit

*For example the current concern following Bennett's (1976) study of the effectiveness of "formal" and "progressive" teaching.

within these, irrespective of their outcomes in terms of the quality or quantity of learning. Certainly educators have, for far too long, been divorced from the realities of policy decision-making at the public level. Whether Husen's view describes what has always been the situation or whether it reflects the decreasing weight placed on education data in decisions on education is uncertain. Perhaps at the levels of major policy, what purports to be an educational decision is really an automatic flow-on from the implementation of policy decisions on "higher" matters.

Less paralyzing to educational research but a form of irrelevance particularly frustrating to the decision-maker is the way educational research often either drifts off the main issue or spreads itself over a much wider set of terms of reference. Decision-makers who may need answers, quick answers to specific issues rapidly bridle when, having funded research to look at a specific issue, they are confronted by a voluminous report in which somewhere among a host of other interesting issues but not very pertinent to the decision, is the material he thought he had asked for. Generally in research, the individual does tend to follow his nose into all the problems and interesting avenues opened up by the initial study. Mapping out the previously unknown is fascinating. Making known inter-relationships hitherto only guessed at or even totally unknown is very stimulating. But the fascination and stimulation of the researcher is frequently matched by the bewilderment and frustration of the sponsor.

Alongside this inability to keep to the matter in hand, comes the equivocation in the declaration of findings. If we all had a dollar bill for every "it seems likely that", "although the evidence would suggest that", the "ifs", the "buts" and the "maybes" we had ourselves written into our research reports we would all be rich men. Scientific accuracy requires us to make such disclaimers for disciplined reporting, . . . but for the decision-maker action must follow deliberation and the weighing of our evidence to establish the probability of balance is, all too often, left to persons whose technical expertise may not enable them to make such an analysis. Hence they decide on other issues, or on the persuasive voice of one acolyte or another.

In dissecting among the equivocations of our research, the policy-maker often finds that our postulated solutions are all too often unusable. This particular weakness will be discussed at length later but at this juncture suffice to say that educational suggestions are often so incompatible, sometimes outrageously so, with economic reality, administrative possibility and with the classroom or school that the very thought of research being useful is devalued. Decision-makers live in a real world and thus are interested practically, only in those solutions that are possible to implement not those of theoretical curiosity. They are looking for variables in the environment which can be manipulated for the better by policy decisions. Findings such as, having a blue eyed grandmother correlates .8 with achievement in engineering, are of less utility than the finding that class size correlates —.4 with such achievement. Something can be done about the latter but not the former.

Our research tends to look for over-elegance in design and outcome. Often this search bedevils the research aimed at policy formulation. It leads

it, necessarily, into diffusion of variables, equivocation on outcomes, and examination of too many non-manipulable items. What is needed for policy decisions is a prediction of outcomes with probabilistic caveats perhaps for a series of outcomes or decisions. Long ago the decision-maker realized the impossibility of the 100% "right" answer. Parsimony of finance, resources, staff and particularly of time is crucially relevant to policy orientated research. A research study on which a decision can be made which will be 80%, 70% or even 60% correct may be preferred to one proffering a 95% solution in ten years' time. Apart from the fact that by then changes in social circumstances could be so great as to change the parameters of the problem, the decision has had to be taken 9 years earlier and by then community could well be committed, perhaps irretrievably, to a course of action. As everyone in the survey field knows, the resources needed to increase response rate from the initial return, rise almost exponentially as the percentage approaches maximum. However, with the later marginal increases in percentage comes very little additional information. The cost benefit is low and diminishing. Elegance and certainty of generalization increase but all too often the answer does not change and the time has run out and the decision taken without the benefit of the research results.

Dissemination

In "pure" research, "discipline" research or "theoretical" research the research report is aimed at one's confrères. These are as knowledgeable as oneself.

They have the technical know-how, the precision expertise, and the research design sophistication to appreciate the elegance of what one has done. It would be doing very few an injustice to suggest that the decision-makers who read reports on policy orientated research share few if any of the current expertise of the researcher. The target population is quite different and the report must be different. The consumer of policy orientated research is usually quite different from the consumer of other research. He is a decision-making administrator, a policy formulating executive or a politician. Such people have scant time to read diligently through a voluminous report, liberally laced with jargon, replete with redundancies and equivocations. To be effective, policy research must be reported* in a form that can be read or heard quickly and effectively by the policy-maker.

To be effective the reports of policy orientated research must reach the *key* people in the policy determining chain. Hence researchers with a policy research orientation must identify the persons who have these key roles. Should the report reach them at a fertile time in the decision-making process then it will have a far greater impact than when it appears later in the learned journals, as a documented report to sponsor, as the book to add to one's curriculum vitae or the reference in the popular press. Key people like to, perhaps need to, be ahead of the game and prefer not to find out what is

*It may be written up in alternative styles subsequently for publication in the academic journals.

happening by reading the daily newspaper. Discussions of the draft report with such key people usually pays dividends — usually positive.

The implementation aspect arising from the dissemination of policy research is quite different from that associated with curriculum development for example. Both tend to occur more easily when the findings are in tune with the general ethos of the community. Both involve the consumer but in totally different ways. If teachers, principals and parents have been involved in the development of a curriculum then its implementation in the schools is much more effective. Hence involvement in the development process of as wide a range of workers at the "coal face" as possible, is a critical feature of effective dissemination at the micro level. Policy research however rarely functions at this detailed level, functioning far more macroscopically. The planners' involvement may be to nominate the issue to be researched but rarely do they become, or wish to become, involved in the research task itself. The research report, if effective, provides the planner(s) with the educational data from which decisions can begin to be developed. Policy decisions are, almost by definition macroscopic even though wide and detailed investigation(s) lead to the conclusion(s). Policy decisions not only are macroscopic, they tend to develop a large inertia. Once taken they tend to gain momentum from the spread of implications which increasingly arise from them.

Dissemination usually is considered as a undimensional vector from researcher to consumer. The issue on which the researcher has worked may have been generated from any of a wide number of theoretical or accidental issues. However policy research usually stems from a policy need and that has to be communicated to the researcher by the policy-maker. Such a route should not be exclusive naturally, but it would be the main one. Hence there must be a dissemination of "policy" to those capable of undertaking the research. Since policy, especially half formulated policy or even possible policy stratagems, is a commodity which has a high political vulnerability it is not usually peddled in the open market place. Yet routes to policy orientated research generated by the twenty questions' game or other approximations to the coy, reluctant virgin model are grossly inefficient. As Coleman (1968) pointed out, the first point of importance in such a research design was "discovering the intent of Congress" (the Sponsor).

There would have to be either a more public discourse on future policy issues, or a greater confidence in researchers by policy-makers to permit a greater exchange of information, or the policy-maker must enter the client-contractor relationship, more frequently. No doubt all three are on the increase, but the links between public discourse and the actual decision process will remain tenuous. Similarly the interchange between persons in policy and in research will occur warily and then only with coteries of like-thinking individuals who, pragmatically, will have similar political and/or social philosophies. Likely to expand much more is the client-contractor relation with an increase in the commissioned research. Here, the policy-maker's staff outline what is needed to throw light on a specific decision issue and either directly commissions or calls for tenders for the necessary research. In such commissions and/or tenders the policy must not only specify what it is that needs investigating but also the time-scale by which

the information is needed. Already there is some evidence that this is occurring.

In England the essence of the Rothschild Report (1971) on what was essentially scientific and technological research was to refocus it onto needs* defined as, "in the national interest". Private foundations have always had this tack of course, defining with more or less clarity those topics or areas they were prepared to support. More on the educational front the Schools Council and the Department of Education and Science in England are commissioning research teams to look at specific problems which fall within the responsibility of these two groups. In Australia the Academy of Social Science has this as a well established practice. The Schools Commission funds projects in line with its programme but not outside them. The House of Representatives committee commissioned research for its S.P.E.L.D. enquiry. Hence the growth in policy orientated research will tend to follow an increase in this client-contractor relationship either by commission or tender. One might predict that if the economic situation does not improve there could see a realignment of research funding to ensure that money is directed to areas into which research is needed for decision and policy purposes. Commissioning might be the preferred form of reverse dissemination as the other two alternatives involve political risk or somewhat predetermining the outcome, in part at least.

Naturally all this is predicated on the belief that there is a coherent, stable policy to be disseminated to the researcher. Whether or not an educational policy *can* exist independent of political or social philosophies, is dubious. Whether or not it *does* exist currently appears certain — it does not appear to be independent. The three issues, politics, social theory and education, are too intimately involved these days. This may account for why open discourse on educational policy is rarely possible. It exposes too many of the stratagems underlying the associated political or social philosophies or policies. Whether it was ever much different is conjectural.

Balance Among Conflicting Interests

Within educational goals themselves there will be conflicting interests which have to be explored by the research undertaken. A gain in intellectual development in one area may be offset by a loss in another. A gain in achievement in intellectual dimensions may be offset by a loss in a social, psychological or physical dimension. Whether one accepts the gain as offsetting the loss depends not only on the quantitative ups or downs and whether these cross any critical minimum levels, but also on the qualitative values placed on the areas of gain or loss. And this is at its simplest when society is considered as a homogeneous whole. That unreality is stillborn as different sections of society will value differently the various areas sustaining gains or losses. To one section of society the gain in academic achievement *does* compensate for the loss in, say, social development. For another it does

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*Who decides the needs is a question that most democratic societies evade until times of economic crisis.

not. How to resolve this conflict in values is rarely examined in pragmatic educational research. Yet even that analysis is an over-simplification of most educational outcomes. Much more likely is that gains in one dimension for one section of society have to be set against losses in a second dimension on a different section. Impacts of educational policy decisions derived from educational research are seldom worked out in this manner.

The argument, and its complexity, develop naturally when the educational factors are seen as a set to which the decision-maker has to add further sets of factors derived from other domains. Proposed optimum educational solutions may fall outside the financial resources available. They may directly or indirectly run contrary to developments seen as socially desirable. They may not be in accord with the political philosophy of the currently ruling decision-makers. Should these latter executives be elected, then the consequences could well be faced at party headquarters and the polling booth.* Proffered educational solutions might have administrative implications which fall outside reasonable bounds. The strands of the decision web have, by this time, run in all directions and the action necessary to move from problem to solution, from policy to implementation, from theories to acceptable practices has to be taken within finite time.

In many ways there is precious little "policy orientated" research in education. Some, such as units within state education departments establish a factual climate within which educational decisions could be made in an informed manner. Other studies follow the decision, optimizing it or providing a cosmetic overlay for it. Nowhere it seems, despite the vast financial, plant and personnel investment in education, does one see policy orientated research examine the feasibility of educational outcomes proposed by educational researchers. Nowhere can one find a searching examination of the administrative, economic, political and sociological outcomes arising from the implementation of a specific educational "solution". Nowhere does one see the educational equivalent of the "environment impact statement". Nowhere can one find the educational equivalent of Kahn's "Think Tank". And yet until such exercises are undertaken, much of educational research will be "rubbish", "lead nowhere" and rarely "hit the nail on the head" for policy-makers such as Sir William Pile.

Summary

One view of the function of educational research in relation to policy decision-making can be seen in Fig. 1. All the roles identified are currently operational. Their balance is debateable.

Educational research has, in the past, rarely made a significant impact on what are handed down as educational policy decisions. Although this situation may be changing the value of educational research is seriously questioned by extremely influential educational administrators.

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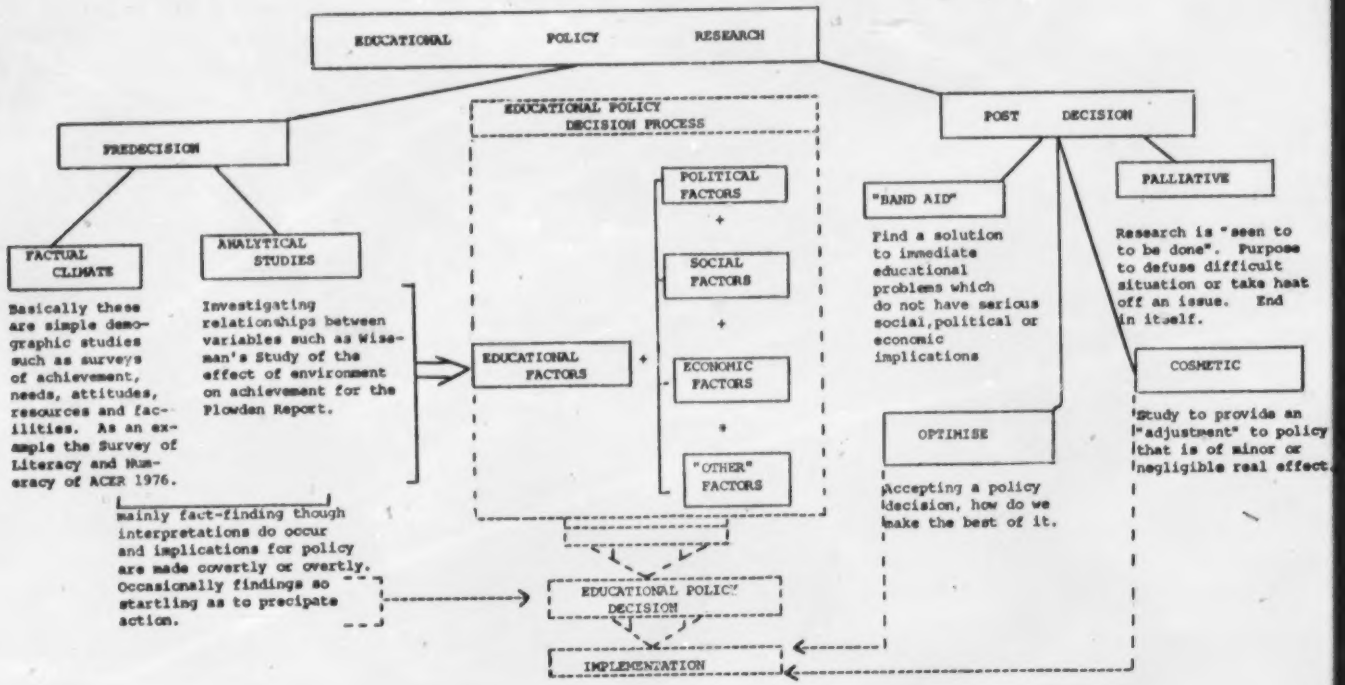
*Also an educational commitment very close to one political philosophy rather than another may come unstuck with a change of government.


EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESEARCH
PREDECISION
FACTUAL CLIMATE
ANALYTICAL STUDIES
Basically these are simple demographic studies such as surveys of achievement, needs, attitudes, resources and facilities. As an example the Survey of Literacy and Numeracy of ACER 1976.
Investigating relationships between variables such as Wiseman's Study of the effect of environment on achievement for the Plowden Report.
mainly fact-finding though interpretations do occur and implications for policy are made covertly or overtly. Occasionally findings so startling as to precipate action.
EDUCATIONAL POLICY DECISION PROCESS
EDUCATIONAL FACTORS
POLITICAL FACTORS
SOCIAL FACTORS
ECONOMIC FACTORS
"OTHER" FACTORS
EDUCATIONAL POLICY DECISION
IMPLEMENTATION
POST DECISION
"BAND AID"
Find a solution to immediate educational problems which do not have serious social, political or economic implications
OPTIMISE
Accepting a policy decision, how do we make the best of it.
PALLIATIVE
Research is "seen to to be done". Purpose to defuse difficult situation or take heat off an issue. End in itself.
COSMETIC
Study to provide an "adjustment" to policy that is of minor or negligible real effect.

Whilst educational research may have provided a limited factual climate within which educational policy decisions may be formulated, such decisions, it is suggested, are based primarily on socio-political and economic factors. Educational research is usefully employed to optimize decisions once these are made and to suggest solutions to immediate educational problems provided the problems and their solutions have minor social-political-economic implications.

Educational researchers appear to prefer to leave the working out of the implications of their educational recommendations to others. Yet it would seem essential that educational research orientated to educational policy decisions should, as a matter of course, have a significant element devoted to working out the implications of the recommendations the research evolves.

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